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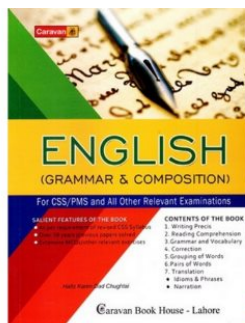
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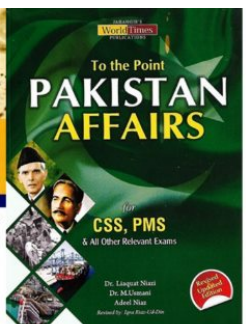
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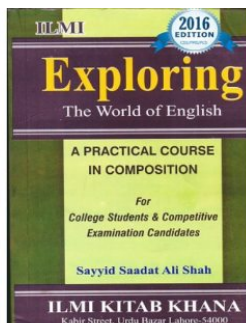
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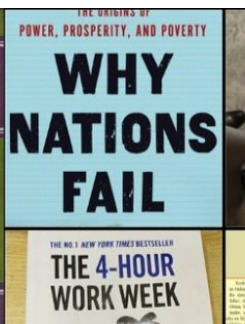
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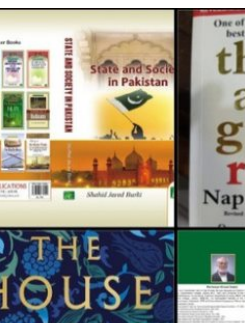
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Foreword

The essay portion of CSS is increasingly becoming a hard nut for students to crack. Post 2013, there has been an astronomical increase in the number of CSS aspirants. Similarly, essay has seen a paradigm shift. While the number of aspirants is on the rise, students have unfortunately stuck to the traditional approach vis-a-vis essay. Even today, the focus is on using the traditional approach of focusing on "causes, effects and remedies" while turning a blind eye to what is being asked in the essay statement. This needs to change. I have consistently scored really well in the essay portion. This, coupled with years of teaching experience under my belt, drove me to write essays on the pattern that has worked quite well for all my students who have aced CSS in the recent past. The distinguishing feature of this book is a focus on different essay themes such as nationalism; populism; gender equality; higher education;

urbanization; CPEC and water to mention only a few. I would like to extend special thanks to my family and friends who have helped me throughout the journey. Please use the book to enhance your argumentation skills whilst adding to your knowledge base instead of cramming these essays. Remember the dictum: "The true essence of education is not to fill hollow vessels but to kindle a flame."

Any suggestions are welcome. Please feel free to contact me on the following email and phone number:

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Three Keys for Acing CSS Essay

1. **Correct Interpretation of the topic:** This is the first criteria against which the examiner judges a candidate's grasping power as far as the essay topics are concerned. Correct interpretation of the topic entails accurately decoding what the topic is about. The example below is sufficient to prove the importance of correctly interpreting the topic. Careful analysis of essay marks shows that students who do not interpret the topic correctly score 20 or less in the essay exam.

Example:

- **Feminism is not really a third world issue (CSS 2017):** There are two common interpretations of this topic. The first one revolves around the fact that feminism is not only an issue for the third world but a global issue. The second interpretation is that feminism is not an issue for the third world to worry about since the third world countries are already facing a myriad of issues.

Essay Hack 1: Focus on the key words or phrases in the Essay topic! This means that the first interpretation is correct because the second interpretation would mean that the essay would ignore the issue of feminism- which by the way was the key word in this essay topic- and focus on other issues of the third world.

2. **Relevance:** Following the correct interpretation of the topic, it is imperative to stay relevant. This implies making sure that the major focus of your essay is what the examiner asks of you in the essay topic.

Example:

- War on Terror has led to the growing abuse of human rights (CSS 2015): This topic simply asks you to primarily focus on how different rights- for instance the right to life, right to privacy, right to fair trial and the right to protection against torture to mention only a few- are being abused in the ongoing war on terror. Even though the examiner would want the students to give a brief overview of human rights and the war on terror but the major focus has to be on how different rights are being blatantly violated in the ongoing war on terror.

Essay Hack 2: Do not unnecessarily try to write down around 3000 words in your essay. It is completely fine to write around 1800 to 2000 words and ace the essay portion. Desperately trying to write around 3000 words is a trap that students fall in and this results in the students going irrelevant. So, remember! Stay focused and stay relevant.

- 3. Coherence:** This is extremely important with regards to the CSS essay. Writing a coherent essay simply entails the use of connecting words, connecting phrases or connecting sentences to ensure that there is no abrupt transition from one idea to another idea; from one paragraph to another paragraph; or from one section of the essay to another section.

Essay Hack 3: Make use of connecting words, phrases and section openers to produce a coherent piece. This would help a candidate fetch more marks.

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CHAPTER

1

*Growing Power of Social Media:
Prospects and Problems*

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OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Dawn of the twenty first century has seen an unprecedented increase in the use of various social media platforms by people to voice their beliefs, ideas, attitudes and opinions. This growing power of social media entails both prospects and problems depending upon how responsibly this power is harnessed.

2) What the phrase "growing power of social media" entails?

- Astronomical increase in the number of social media users
- Increased usage of social media platforms- such as twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp to mention only a few- to voice public opinion
- In turn bringing about changes in the society

3) Prospects of the growing power of social media:

3.1) A tool to enhance accountability

Case in point: resignation of Icelandic prime minister in the wake of Panama Scandal

3.2) A medium to speak up against human rights violations

Case in point: various human rights activists took to twitter to criticize Burhan Wani's butcherous murder

3.3) A platform to ignite social and political revolutions

Case in point: Arab Spring and the #MeToo Campaign

3.4) Can be used to prevent democracy from being derailed

Case in point: Erdogan mobilised Turkish civilians against the attempted military coup in Turkey through facetime

3.5) Enhanced prospects of business efficacy

Case in point: Trending social media marketing

4) **Problems created due to the Growing Power of Social Media:**

4.1) Used by terrorists to spread hate literature

Case in point: ISIS social media campaign

4.2) Compromises people's fundamental right to privacy

Case in Point: The Cambridge Analytica scandal

4.3) Has dealt a major blow to the direct modes of communication

4.4) Publicity of certain television shows and games that have a negative impact on the society

Cases in point: *13 Reasons Why

*Blue Whale

4.5) A tool to disseminate selective information

Case in Point: Putin blamed for garnering public support through disseminating selective information

5) **Recipe to ensure that the growing power of social media is used not abused:**

- Constructive role of electronic media regulatory authorities
- Onus on the civil society to shun the abuse of the growing power of social media

6) **Conclusion**

In order to realize the long term prospects of social media, it is imperative to harness its power responsibly.

ESSAY

Dawn of the twenty first century has seen an unprecedented increase in the use of various social media platforms by people to voice their beliefs, ideas, attitudes and opinions. This growing power of social media entails both prospects and problems depending upon how responsibly this power is harnessed. If used responsibly, social media can be a blessing for the society. For instance, it can be used to enhance accountability by calling upon the leaders and policy makers to be accountable for their actions. In an era where human rights violations are still taking place, social media applications provide a platform for human rights activists to speak up against such grave human rights violations. Moving on, these digital platforms could be used to ignite social and political revolutions as well. So, it won't be wrong to state that the power of social media can be leveraged to strengthen the democratic culture. On the economic front, social media marketing has resulted in enhanced business efficacy. However, if this power of social media is abused, it can wreak havoc on the society. Terrorist outfits such as ISIS have used digital platforms to spread hate literature and extremist ideology. Social media also shoulders the blame of compromising people's fundamental right to privacy as witnessed in the Cambridge Analytica case. The publicity on social media of certain television shows and games that have a negative impact on the youth has also surfaced as a major problem. Lastly, it is a pity that social media is used by certain elements as a defamation tool. Hence, there is a dire need to regulate the use of social media in order to realize the long term prosperity of the society.

*"We do not have a choice on whether we do social media;
the question is how well we do it."
(Erik Qualman)*

The essay will start off by decoding the phrase "growing power of social media. Once this is done, the focus of this discussion shall shift to elucidating- with the aid of examples

and illustrations- the prospects as well as the problems that might result from the growing power of social media. Finally, the discussion would be folded up by proposing a set of cogent remedies, which if put in place, would ensure that social media is - by and large- a blessing for the society.

Social media collectively refers to all those platforms that enable people to share information and interact with other people across borders. These platforms have diluted physical distance. Facebook, twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp and Facetime are some examples of social media websites. Over the last decade, there has been an astronomical increase in the number of social media users. This change has been brought about due to widespread internet availability and the proliferation of smart phones. People have increasingly started using these digital platforms to not only get their daily fix of entertainment but also to voice their opinions, ideas, attitudes and beliefs. These ideas, expressed digitally, bring about various changes in the society. The changes could be both positive as well as negative depending on how constructive the use of social media platforms is. In a nutshell, this ability of social media platforms to bring about changes in the society is referred to as the growing power of social media.

First and foremost, social media has paved the way for enhanced accountability of public figures and the political brass. Previously, when people felt that they had been wronged by the state, they had extremely limited options at their disposal to express their sentiments. They would normally protest in the streets. This method had extremely limited efficacy due to its limited reach. However, things changed with the advent of social media as people found in such platforms a stage to hold those at the helm of affairs accountable. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of the resignation of the Icelandic prime minister. Following the appearance of his name in the panama papers, scores of people from within and outside Iceland took to social media. They criticized their leader and demanded his resignation. Eventually, the leader succumbed to this growing wave of digital protest launched against him. This clearly depicts how social media is a tool that can be used to enhance accountability.

Social media has also provided people a medium through which various human rights activists could speak up against grave human rights violations. Before social media became a powerful tool, scholars and intellectuals would discuss these issues amongst themselves in spaces dedicated to such exchanges. Not only did this limit the impact of the discourse but it also kept the common people alienated from the process. However, in recent times, social media has brought these spaces to the doorstep of every individual. People are increasingly becoming aware of various instances of gross human rights abuses ranging from the plight of Rohingya Muslims to the Indian atrocities in Kashmir. The example of Burhan Wani immediately comes to mind in this regard. Following the murder of this Kashmiri freedom fighter at the hands of Indian armed forces, several supporters of Burhan Wani protested peacefully in Kashmir. However, the Indian armed forces fired rubber pellets on the innocent people exercising their legitimate right to protest peacefully. As a result, scores of people sustained injuries in the form of blindness and bruises. It was this instance that probed various human rights activists to register their protest on social media about the barbaric attitude of the Indian forces. So, the issue of human rights violations rose to prominence owing to the growing power of social media.

Social media has further showcased itself as a blessing for the society in the form of kick-starting various political and social revolutions. It is commonly believed that the first step towards bringing about a revolution in the society is creating awareness regarding the evil that needs to be rooted out of the society. Social media platforms have helped in creating a critical mass of people pushing for a revolution. A primary example in this regard is that of the events leading up to the Arab Spring. A fruit vendor, who was frustrated at the injustices of the repressive Arab regime set himself ablaze. These pictures spread through social media like wildfire and mobilised people in their fight against the repressive Arab regimes. Arab spring was thus attributed to the growing power of social media. Moreover, the #MeToo campaign- a campaign launched against sexual harassment- was also ignited on social media. These examples lend credence to

the fact that the growing power of social media has indeed been a blessing in terms of breaking the status quo in the society.

Social media has also proven itself to be a potent tool in terms of preventing the democratic project from being derailed. It is a common perception that democracy is a culture that slowly develops provided democratic process is allowed to continue over time. Any military takeover of the civilian government- commonly referred to as a military coup- is detrimental for democracy. A decade ago, thinking that social media platforms could strengthen democracy might have sounded like something new. However, the situation has changed immensely in the wake of the growing influence of social media. An example that helps establish the aforementioned claim is that of the events surrounding the attempted military coup in Turkey. On the 15th of July 2016, the Turkish military threatened to overstep its domain and impose a martial law in the country. The Turkish president, who was outside Turkey during this fiasco, mobilised people against this attempted coup using facetime. He called upon the pro-democracy populace to take to streets. The immense street power demonstrated by people in this episode helped prevent the attempted coup from bearing fruit. This speaks volumes regarding the importance of social media in the contemporary world in terms of strengthening the democratic culture.

On the economic front, the growing power of social media has helped in enhancing the overall business efficacy. For any business to thrive, efficient use of resources is of paramount importance. In olden days, letting people know about a new restaurant or any other business venture for that matter seemed like an uphill task. However, things changed with the advent of social media. Social media marketing has been a blessing in terms of marketing products to a larger audience whilst saving on costs and time. It is for this reason that different social media marketing courses are selling like hot cakes. Moreover, softwares like Skype business and GoToMeeting help connect offices of a multinational firm located in different countries. This is extremely vital for any business to save in terms of time and money. Thus, enhanced business efficacy as a result of social media is something that the entrepreneurs are grateful for.

The discussion so far has brought to the fore an important lesson- social media platforms, if used wisely, can be a major blessing for the society. However, if the influence of social media is abused, it can wreak havoc on the society. Hence, the next few paragraphs would be devoted to elucidating the problems that the society has had to face as a result of the abuse of social media.

Perhaps the biggest pitfall of the growing power of social media is its exploitation by the terrorists to spread the extremist ideology. Various terrorist outfits prey on potential recruits through these digital platforms. The digital space has unfortunately acted as a one stop shop for the extremist outfits in terms of brainwashing people and teaching them different forms of violent activities. The social media campaign launched by ISIS is the most apt example that fits within the scheme of things. ISIS targeted people on social media platforms. According to a report published by Al-Jazeera, thousands of people living in different countries fell prey to the social media campaign of ISIS. These individuals were ready to relinquish their lives and join the terrorist outfit. The case of Naureen Leghari is crucial in this regard. Hailing from the province of Sindh in Pakistan, she was both brainwashed and trained by ISIS on Facebook and WhatsApp. She was ready to join ISIS when the security personnel intercepted her and the situation was defused. This is one of the many examples that help illustrate how the power of social media is being exploited by radical outfits in terms of spreading hate literature and the terrorist ideology.

The growing power of social media has dealt a major blow to people's fundamental right to privacy. With so much data up on the web in general and on the social networking websites in particular, maintaining privacy is becoming an uphill task. Various hackers and data mining firms have resorted to scooping people's personal information from the digital domain without people having any knowledge about this malpractice. Even the artificial intelligence firms- that feed on people's personal data- are guilty of breaching people's right to privacy. This is extremely worrisome since it is a major violation of the fundamental right to privacy- a right that has been enshrined in the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover, this might steer the global ship towards anarchy and chaos. The Cambridge Analytica scandal is a primary case in point. On the 16th of March 2018, the New York Times reported that a data mining firm Cambridge Analytica that worked on Trump's presidential campaign had improperly obtained access to 50 million user profiles. Experts believe that this data could have been used to gain an unfair advantage to influence voter decisions. This episode has certainly helped the stance of the social media critics who blame such platforms for compromising people's fundamental right to privacy.

Yet another downside of the increasing potency of social media is that it has dealt a major blow to the direct modes of communication. From the sociological standpoint, various authors have cited concerns regarding people increasingly occupying digital personalities. This entails that rather than holding meaningful conversations with people in person or expressing feelings to someone's face, people prefer putting up statuses on social media platforms. It is due to this ability of social media to control people's lives that Hariri, in his book 21 Lessons for the 21st Century has termed social media as a form of digital dictatorship. According to Your Tango,

"Relationships are harder now because conversations become chats, arguments become phone calls and feelings become updates."

This clearly depicts that the growing influence of social media platforms has made communication more and more impersonal.

Social media, in the recent past, has also shouldered the blame of publicizing certain television shows and games that have a negative influence on the youth. In the modern era, whenever a particular television show trends, people come to know of it through their circle of friends primarily on social media. One such show was "thirteen reasons why." Its popularity increased manifold owing to the publicity through social media. However, this was widely criticized on the grounds that its protagonist set a bad precedent for teenagers to resort to suicide as means of escape from the worries of life.

Similar is the case with certain games that promote aggressive tendencies among the youth. An example worth mentioning here is that of the game called "the blue whale" whereby a character would have a hypnotizing effect on those playing the game. This induced people to undertake certain dangerous dares as well. Hence, the publicity of such shows or games on social media drew criticism regarding how social media could be a curse for the society provided its power is not effectively regulated.

Last but not the least, social media is often criticised as a platform to dole out selective information for individual gains. World leaders and certain brands often show people just the information they want them to see through social media. This undermines people's right to information. Putin is an extremely successful leader who boasts a high level of domestic support. Some quarters have criticized Putin for using social media to control the type and amount of information to be given to the public. He has done so in a bid to amass support for certain foreign policy decisions such as the decisions to annex Crimea and to intervene in Syria. In extreme circumstances, social media has also been exploited by people as means to disseminate false information in order to defame rivals. It is hence a pity that social media has, in modern era, become an agent of disinformation.

The discussion so far has shed light on the potential advantages and pitfalls of the ever increasing power of social media. The focus of this discussion will now shift to giving a framework required to maximize the prospects of social media and minimizing the potential problems that have surfaced in the recent past.

It is a crying need of the hour for the society to tame the growing influence of social media. A good starting point in this regard would be for the digital regulatory authorities to implement the laws related to social media in both letter and spirit. This would create an effective deterrent to the abuse of social media. Moreover, onus is on the individuals as well to ensure that social media platforms are only used in a constructive manner. Education has rightly been termed as a primary agent of

socialization. Hence, the constructive role of education in terms of teaching people not to ever abuse any facet of technology would also come in handy in this regard. Hence, if these steps are implemented on a priority basis, social media would indeed become a blessing for the society in the longer run.

To conclude, it can safely be stated that the question of whether social media is a blessing or a curse for the society boils down to the nature of its usage. The abuse of social media is a major problem for the society since it sets a bad precedent for the future generations and wreaks havoc on the society. This warrants immediate attention of different stakeholders throughout the world to put in place a set of cogent remedies to prevent these platforms from being a menace for the society. This seems like a difficult task but is by no means impossible. Constructive role of the digital regulatory authorities and responsible use of digital domains on part of individuals are the keys to success in this regard.

*"Noah built the ark before rain arrived.
Hence, let us not wait for rain unprepared.
(Howard Ruff)"*

CHAPTER

2

Are Modern Wars Not Holy Wars?

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

The contemporary era- that is characterized by an increasingly complex world order- has seen a paradigm shift from holy wars to wars that have geo-economic and geo-political reasons at their core. Even the religious wars have other issues at their heart.

2) Framing the Issue- Defining the Key Variables:

2.1) **Holy Wars:** wars that have a religious dimension to them

2.2) **Modern wars:** wars fought in the contemporary world due to a host of reasons other than the religious factor

3) How Modern Wars Are Not Holy Wars?

3.1) Proxy warfare as means to weaken rival states

Cases in point: * Indian involvement in igniting separatist tendencies in Balochistan

* The Syrian civil war

3.2) War for the right to self determination

Case in point: The Kashmiri struggle for the right to self determination

3.3) Asymmetric warfare

Cases in point: * Pakistani State's war against the non-state actors like Taliban

* Indian state against the Maoists in regions like Chhattisgarh

3.4) Wars to overthrow political leaders and install puppet leaders instead

Case in point: US' intervention in Iraq for ousting Saddam Hussain in 2003

3.5) War on terror to eradicate terrorism from the society

3.6) Trade Wars as means to attack rival economies

Case in point: US-China trade war

3.7) Wars fought to exert control over natural resources

Case in point: South China Sea Conflict

3.8) Cyber Warfare

Case in point: Alleged Russian meddling in the US elections

3.9) Tussle in an attempt to flex muscle in the international arena as means to regain the lost glory

Case in point: Russian muscle flexing demonstrated in the annexation of Crimea.

4) **Seemingly Religious War with Some Other Underlying Causes- A Case Study:**

* Saudi Iranian tussle in a bid to acquire regional hegemony despite the war having a seemingly religious outlook

i) **Recipe to Avoid All Forms of Warfare:**

- Strengthening the dictates of international law- primarily the ones focused on international peace and security
- Onus on world leaders to exhibit collectivistic spirit
- Making the international economic system more fair and transparent

Conclusion:

The world is increasingly transitioning away from holy wars to wars that are fought for non-religious reasons.

ESSAY

The contemporary world order is moving fast towards multi-polarity as manifest in the rise of various centres of power. The rise of geo-economics coupled with interstate rivalries has complicated the world order and made it more anarchic. Hence, the contemporary era- that is characterized by an increasingly complex world order- has seen a paradigm shift from holy wars to wars that have geo-economic and geo-political reasons at their core. Even the religious wars have other issues at their heart. In an era where explicit use of force brings international condemnation, states are resorting to proxy wars as means to weaken the rival states. Some sections of the society such as the people of Kashmir are engaged in their battle against the barbaric Indian regime to fight for their legitimate right to self-determination. Asymmetric warfare- usually fought between a state and a non-state actor- has also emerged as another popular form of warfare. Some countries like the United States of America are also found involved in creating a war like scenario to install puppet regimes in different countries in order to gain political leverage. Moving on, economic warfare as manifest in the US-China trade war and the South China Sea conflict has vindicated the dictum that we live in the age of geo-economics. Lastly, new warfronts have emerged in the cyber domain as well as the tussle for gaining supremacy in international institutions. Hence, the aforementioned discussion establishes that the modern wars are primarily fought for geo-economic and geo-political reasons.

The essay will start off by giving a brief overview of what religious and modern wars are. Moving on, the focus of discussion will shift to presenting a detailed analysis of how the wars fought in the modern era are not holy wars. Eventually, the discussion will be folded up by providing a holistic framework to eradicate all forms of warfare for the long term prosperity of the society.

Holy war is any form of warfare that has a religious dimension to it. The religious wars usually have three essential elements that differentiate them from the rest of the wars.

In the first place, such wars have a religious goal. Secondly, religious wars can be sanctioned by a religious leader having legitimate authority. Lastly, religious wars usually promise some spiritual reward for those who take part in them. An apt example of religious wars are the crusades- a series of warfare organized by western European Christians with the aim to stop the expansion of Muslim states and to reclaim territories that had been formerly been Christian.

In contrast, any war with causes other than religion can be termed as a modern war. The idea that the modern age is the age of geo-economics and geo-politics has been reinforced by various intellectual circles. Hence, such political and economic interests have been the sole reasons for existing inter-state rivalries. Conflicts over resources; trade disputes; bid for regional and global hegemony along with cyber warfare are the different facets of modern warfare.

In the post United Nations era, proxy wars- despite having existed since the cold war era- have become quite pronounced. Following the development of international law under the auspices of the United Nations, direct military interventions in countries started being looked down upon. Hence, countries began contemplating new means of weakening their rival states. This paved the way for proxy warfare- wars instigated by opposing powers who do not fight against each other directly; instead, they use third parties referred to as proxies to do their fighting for them. The aim is to weaken the rival states and pursue certain goals without getting the tag of an aggressor. Indian use of proxies within Pakistan to foment trouble in the Balochistan region of Pakistan is a primary example in this regard. Moreover, the Syrian quagmire is, by and large, an example of proxy warfare. Various factions embroiled in the conflict such as the USA, Russia, Turkey and some non-state actors such as Hezbollah and the Free Syrian Army have transformed the situation in Syria in to a huge proxy war. Hence, it becomes quite evident that the modern warfare has seen the rise of proxy wars.

Wars fought by certain factions across the globe in a bid to realize their right to self-determination is another manifestation of modern warfare. The apparent failure of the United Nations in safeguarding the right to self-determination has deprived these people of their legitimate political and other rights. The most apt example in this case is the Kashmiri struggle for their right to self-determination. The Kashmiri people willing to exercise their right to self-determination are dealt with by the Indian armed forces in a barbaric manner. The heinous murder of Burhan Wani and the frequent use of rubber pellets on the Kashmiri protestors are some of the many atrocities inflicted on the people of Kashmir by the Indian armed forces. The recent move by the Modi led Indian government to scrap articles 35-A and 370 of the Indian constitution has exposed Indian designs to pour cold water over the Kashmiri legitimate desire for exercising the right to self-determination. Hence, the war to exercise the right to self-determination is yet another form of modern warfare.

Changing nature of modern warfare is also manifest in the recent trend of asymmetric warfare. This warfare refers to the wars between belligerents whose relative military power and strategy differ significantly. A glance at the nature of asymmetrical warfare in the present age shows that it is usually fought between a state and a non-state actor. The state is powerful and exhibits the full spectrum of its military might and resources. The non-state actor on the other hand has a relatively weaker position in terms of manpower as well as other resources. An example of asymmetrical warfare from within Pakistan is the war waged by the state of Pakistan against the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in order to prevent the threat posed by this terrorist outfit to the writ of the state. Another example that comes to mind is the war waged by the Maoists in India against the Indian state. Maoists- who are primarily concentrated in the region of Chhattisgarh in India- are the adherents of socialism. They contend that capitalism is an exploitative system that deprives masses of the basic necessities of life and call upon the Indian state to neutralize the unchecked power of the capitalist elites. Asymmetric warfare is thus another example of wars that have begun occupying a central stage in the contemporary warfare.

In a bid to gain dominance, world hegemony has sparked conflicts in many countries to topple the existing governments. Article 2(7) of the UN charter clearly forbids countries from interfering in the internal affairs of other states. Doing so is extremely important for the maintenance of international peace and security. However, it is a pity that, in the recent past, the global community has witnessed a staggering increase in the wars aimed at toppling certain regimes. This is lethal for the socio-economic prosperity of any society since it not only paralyzes state institutions but also compromises people's fundamental right to elect a leader of their own choice. The intervening parties have rationalized such interventions in the name of counter-terrorism and human rights protection. However, such interventions have aggravated the situation. Back in 2003, the United States invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam Hussain's regime on allegations of the regime possessing weapons of mass destruction. However, in the years that followed, several reports emerged invalidating the claims of the United States of America. Hence, such wars- with deep underlying political motives- are but one facet of modern warfare.

The global war on terror is another major type of war that began in the aftermath of the attack on the Twin Towers in New York on the 11th of September 2001. On this fateful day, some Al-Qaeda steered planes downed the Twin Towers in New York, USA. This prompted the US to declare a war against terror. President Bush called upon various countries to partner with US in the latter's resolve to root terrorism out from the society. This was the beginning of the log war that continues till date and has become controversial with regards to human rights abuses. This war is aimed at the complete destruction of various terrorist outfits such as Al-Qaeda, Taliban and ISIS and the deradicalization of the society. However, it is a pity that this war has spelt disaster for human rights. Various rights such as the right to life; right to privacy; right to protection against torture and the right to fair trial have taken a back seat in the ongoing war on terror. So, there is no denying the fact that war on terror is a major example of modern warfare.

The age of geo-economics has pushed countries to fiercely confront each other on economic grounds. There is no disagreement over the fact that economic liberalization in the form of free movement of goods and resources has been a major blessing for the society. This has benefitted the entire world community by lifting billions of people out of poverty. However, some economic giants have relied on protectionist measures in the economic domain as means of gaining leverage over their rivals. Such protectionist measures not only hurt single economy but disrupt the entire global supply chain. The US-China trade war is a glaring example in this regard. The tariffs and counter tariffs imposed by both countries on each other in order to neutralize their respective trade deficits have brought the global economy on the brink of collapse. According to the IMF personnel, if this dangerous precedent continues unabated, the world might not be too far away from another global financial crisis. Hence, economic warfare in the form of trade wars has become quite pronounced in the modern era and poses a grave threat to the world economy.

In the modern era, increased competition for control over natural resources has become a major reason behind inter-state conflicts. The countries have come to the conclusion that economic might translates in to greater sway over international politics. Thus, in order to become economically strong, global powers are engaged in a fierce competition to strengthen their grip over such precious resources. The turbulent situation in the South China Sea is a primary example that is worth mentioning here. The area serves as a transit route for around twenty percent of the global trade and is home to various economic resources such as fisheries, oil and gas. Hence, it is a subject of interest for various East Asian nations and has also become a major bone of contention between the US and China. Therefore, the fierce competition for control over scarce resources is a major dimension of modern war.

Rapid technological advancements have transformed the cyber space in to a major battlefield among nations. Cyber war is a major ingredient of the fifth-generation warfare and is becoming increasingly popular on account of its low cost high impact

nature. In an era where internet has encroached upon almost all aspects of human life, cyber space has made even the nations vulnerable to cyber-attacks. A cursory glance at the international politics shows that the state sponsored hackers are easily hacking in to the classified information of enemy states and disrupting their normal day to day functioning. Perhaps the biggest example of cyber warfare in recent times is the alleged Russian meddling in the 2016 US presidential elections. Various reports released by the major think tanks in the US stipulated that Russian hackers- upon receiving orders from the Russian president Putin- hacked the emails of a major US presidential candidate Hillary Clinton. The aim was for Russia to support the presidential campaign of Donald Trump and disparaging Hillary Clinton. This sent shockwaves across the world with regards to cyber warfare as a major threat to world peace in the contemporary age.

In the recent past, some countries have started annexing territories as means to show their military might and regain the lost glory. Military might is an essential element of national power. This is often the case because the greater the military power, the greater is a nation's ability to get other states to do what it wants them to do. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of the Russian annexation of Crimea. USSR lost its glory with the end of the cold war. However, Russia has been trying to play a more dominant role in international politics ever since. In an attempt to showcase Russian power, Putin annexed Crimea in 2014 as means to show to the world in general and the US in particular that Russia is still a power to be reckoned with. Rather than having a religious reason, this modern form of warfare seeks the pursuance of a political goal.

In the midst of such varying nature of conflicts, there are some forms of war, which despite having a religious outlook have some other underlying causes. An example that best fits within the frame is the case study of the ongoing tussle between Iran and Saudi Arabia. This conflict apparently seems to have a religious cover. However, a thorough understanding of the nature of this conflict shows that the two regional powers are

engaged in a tit for tat feud as means to acquire regional hegemony. Hence, this example is a perfect illustration of the fact that in the modern times, even the conflicts that are seemingly religious in nature have other reasons at their core.

From the aforementioned arguments, one could safely gather that the nature of modern warfare has taken a major turn. Religion is no longer the predominant factor in the inter-state conflicts. It is in fact the relentless pursuit of economic and political motives that drives nations towards war. This is a grave situation that warrants immediate attention. Hence, the next section of this essay will discuss some measures, which if put in place will help steer the global ship away from all forms of war towards peace.

There is a dire need for the international community to realize that war is indeed a curse. The first step to prevent the scourge of war is to strengthen the dictates of international law regarding international peace and security. The UN charter needs revision to incorporate the dispute resolution mechanism with regards to the modern forms of warfare. Doing so is extremely important in terms of eradicating the menace of war. Moreover, the world leaders need to demonstrate collectivism and move away from the pursuance of myopic and individual gains. This would mean that the major powers of the world would instead be focused on constructive engagements rather than being obsessed with weakening the enemy state with whatever means they have at their disposal. Lastly, the international economic and political system needs to be made more fair and transparent in order to assuage any concerns nations might have. Democratizing the global institutions such as the UN and the Bretton woods institutions would go a long way in terms of addressing any possible grievances that different nations might have.

To conclude, it is quite evident that modern wars are no longer holy wars. Instead, they are fought due to a host of economic and political reasons. This is also extremely worrisome since the growing intensity of these conflicts poses an existential threat to

the world peace. The predicament warrants immediate attention on part of the entire international community. There is indeed a dire need to do away with such grave conflicts. This might seem like an uphill task but is by no means impossible. Strengthening the international dispute resolution mechanism and democratizing the global political and economic institutions are the keys to success.

"Anyone who thinks must think of the next war as they would of suicide."
(Eleanor Roosevelt)

CHAPTER

3

Democracy is a Culture Rather than a Process

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Democratic process is no doubt important for the continuity of democracy. However, a healthy democracy depends in large part on the development of a democratic civic culture- behaviors, practices and norms that define the ability of the people to govern themselves.

2) Framing the Issue- Defining the Key variables:

- A brief overview of democratic process
- Contextualizing democratic culture

3) How democracy is a culture rather than a process?

3.1) Electoral process simply becomes a tool to gain power in the absence of democratic culture

Case in point: Ugandan elections of 2006

3.2) State institutions- executive, legislature and judiciary- serve the personal interests of politicians if democratic culture is not adopted

Case in point: arguments from "Why Nations Fail" regarding inclusive versus extractive institutions

3.3) Mere formulation of political parties is futile unless the party leaders adhere to democratic norms and values

3.4) Economic health of a country is in jeopardy without the prevalence of a democratic ideals

Case in point: Paul Collier's "5 Myths About The Beauty Of The Ballot Box"- \$2700 per capita income a threshold for democracy

3.5) A free and responsible media becomes an elusive dream in the absence of democratic culture

Case in point: the recent wave of restrictions imposed on the Indian media

- 3.6) Democratic culture is extremely crucial for safeguarding people's fundamental rights

Case in point: Western European countries

- 3.7) Rule of law becomes a distant dream if those at the helm of affairs are not prepared to live by the democratic norms

- 3.8) Democratic norms and values are a must for laying the foundations of a pluralistic society

Case in point: Canada under Justin Trudeau

4) **Comparison of Democratic Culture in the Contemporary World:**

5) **Recipe to Promote Democratic Culture:**

- 5.1) Role of agents of socialization in promoting the democratic ideals

- 5.2) Promoting democratic education

6) **Conclusion:**

There is a dire need for the society to transform the democratic process in to a democratic culture in order to truly realize the fruits of democracy.

ESSAY

Democracy, in its true essence, is the adaptation of democratic ideals, attitudes and values by a society in its social, economic and political spheres. An individual undergoes socialization throughout his or her life. The end product is a responsible citizen who can tell right from wrong and lives his or her life according to the norms and values of a society. Similar is the case with democracy- the democratic process gradually evolves from a process into a culture. This democratic culture influences the behavior and thought process of the members of society. As a result, the people are able to enjoy the true fruits of democracy. While the continuity of democratic process is essential for the establishment of institutions such as electoral systems, state institutions and government bodies, it is the democratic culture that develops the souls of these institutions by promoting a culture of accountability, rule of law and civic participation. A cursory view of the international setup reveals that although some countries have a democratic outlook, yet the lack of democratic culture has resulted in tyranny and oppression which are antithetical to the democratic ideals.

Democratic process is a necessary but not an exclusive requirement for a functional and effective democracy. It merely develops the external manifestations of democracy such as a parliament, judiciary, executive, and electoral system. Contrary to it, democratic culture embodies democratic ideals that ensure the fulfillment of the social, political and economic responsibilities by these institutions. It therefore represents a value system that is inter-related with moral, religious and symbolic narrative of any society. The democratic culture imbibes democratic values in the souls and minds of humans thereby ensuring that human actions and decisions contribute to the overall strengthening of democracy. More importantly, it is dynamic and grows in response to external challenges to democracy and ensures that the true spirit of democracy is transmitted to the future generations.

In the absence of a democratic culture, a country can never realize the dream of free and fair elections. Elections are one of the defining characteristics of democracy. They

ensure the transfer of democratic power as well as the continuity of democratic process. The whole purpose of elections and the voting process is for people to elect representatives who will legislate on their behalf. However, in the absence of democratic culture, electoral process merely becomes an instrument of gaining power for inept politicians by stealing people's mandate. Dictators, all over the world, use elections to create a false sense of legitimacy through rigged referendums. They use 'democracy' to impose their own will on the people. Similarly, in the absence of democratic culture, voters tend to vote on the basis of ethnicity, sect and political affiliations with complete disregard to the performance. The Ugandan elections of 2006 are a primary example of how rigged elections are a norm in countries where democracy is merely treated as a process to cling on to power. The election was characterized by controversies with the Museveni led government accused of intimidating the opposition leaders and their supporters including arrests and detention. On the other hand, a democratic culture ensures transparent, free and fair elections through a system of checks. It ensures that people realize their civic responsibility of voting and reject incompetent politicians. Therefore, a democratic setup based on merit is established that strengthens the foundations of democracy in a country.

Moreover, state institutions- formed as a result of democratic process- can never discharge their responsibilities in a prudent manner in the absence of democratic culture. The key state institutions such as the legislature, executive and judiciary are pivotal for the growth of democracy in any country. Their purpose is to make laws, implement them and dispense justice in line with the principles of constitutional governance. However, in the absence of democratic culture, politicians use national resources for their own personal gains and the judiciary is unable to dispense speedy and cheap justice. As stipulated in the book **Why Nations Fail**, such extractive institutions mean that corruption becomes rampant and good governance becomes a wishful dream. On the other hand, democratic culture would entail inclusive institutions that enable citizens to participate in the administrative and financial

decision making of the country through local bodies. This clearly shows that the mere establishment of state institutions through a democratic process does not necessarily translate into a genuine and functional democracy.

Similarly, the mere formulation of political parties is futile unless the party leaders adhere to democratic norms and values. Political parties are the major drivers of democracy. They provide a platform to common people to realize their political ambitions and raise consciousness among the masses through election campaigns. However, it is seldom the case when democratic culture has not fully materialized. Political parties in such families are controlled by a single family which runs it like a family business. Thus, a single family rules the party and, in some cases, the country as well for decades. However, in a democratic culture, democracy starts from the grass root level. Intra-party elections are a norm and democratic values are inculcated in the political workers from an early stage. Once they have fully embraced the democratic culture, they further work towards strengthening democracy in the country when they come into power. So, democracy is no democracy until the political parties adopt the democratic culture.

In addition, establishment of true democracy in a country is deeply connected with the economic system of a country. Usually, countries which lack a democratic culture are more prone to economic instability; lack of institutional checks and balances and over-saturation of state owned enterprises. Since the decisions are mostly political in nature, they seldom translate into economic prosperity. Contrary to it, democratic culture encourages the practice of economic liberalization and promotes market economy. Moreover, democratic culture also believes in the equality of economic opportunities, every person is allowed to pursue his economic ambitions. The result is an overall economic growth and increase in per capita income. Paul Collier in "5 myths about the beauty of ballot box" has cited \$2700 per capita income as a threshold to democracy. Thus, democracies are more effective and less prone to violence if majority of the people

are above the poverty line. This shows a deep correlation between democratic culture and the economic health of a country.

A free and responsible media becomes an elusive dream in the absence of democratic culture. Media plays the role of a neutral watchdog over public institutions and keeps an eye on the irregularities within a democratic system. Its purpose is to shape public opinion and inform the public about democratic values. However, in the absence of a democratic culture, media is simply an instrument of oppression in the hands of incompetent rulers and dictators. They use it to muster support for their own agenda and as a means of propaganda and indoctrination. A prime example in this regard is that of the Indian media under Narendra Modi. He has been accused by various intellectuals of using the Indian media for winning people's support by tugging at people's nationalistic sentiments in a bid to secure victory in the general elections. Contrarily, in a democratic culture, principle of impartiality is emphasized upon and media is expected to follow journalistic ethics. Independence of media and freedom of expression are ensured so that media can effectively contribute towards the development of true democracy. Hence a free and impartial media- which is at the heart of democracy- can only thrive when democracy is adopted as a culture.

Democratic culture is also extremely crucial for safeguarding people's fundamental rights, which are considered the essential pre-requisites of democracy. Some fundamental rights such as the right to life, religion, speech and privacy have constitutional protection in almost all countries. However, in the absence of a democratic culture, rulers blatantly disregard these human rights. The result is a society that is democratic in form but totalitarian in essence. Thus, it is impossible for democracy to grow in such societies because the circumstances are not supportive of it. However, in the presence of a democratic culture, fundamental rights are associated with individual dignity, self-esteem and establishment of a harmonious social order. Therefore, every possible effort is made not only by the government but also by civil society to protect the civil and political liberties of individuals. Hence, human rights can only be safeguarded under a democratic culture.

Rule of law becomes a distant dream if those at the helm of affairs are not prepared to live by the democratic norms. Rule of law ensures that nobody is above the law and ensures equal treatment to all citizens. In the absence of a democratic culture, those at the helm of affairs blatantly commit crimes and corruption and repeatedly get away without any sort of punishment. The weaker segments of the society are the ones who bear the major brunt of this discriminatory legalism. They are punished for petty crimes while the influential people are immune from any sort of danger. On the other hand, in a democratic culture, everybody is equal in the eyes of law. Nobody has any sort of advantage over the others on account of his status or prestige. Hence, rule of law can only materialize in societies that have seen a transition from democratic process to a democratic culture.

Moving on, democratic norms and values are a must for laying the foundations of a pluralistic society. Pluralism is often believed to be a sine-qua-non for democracy to flourish. A pluralistic culture connotes various groups of people living together in the society peacefully. In the absence of a democratic culture, pluralism becomes a distant dream. Under such circumstances, the majority ends up benefitting while the minorities see their rights being compromised. There is very little room for difference of opinion. Contrarily, a democratic culture celebrates diversity and epitomizes tolerance. Innovation reigns supreme in a pluralistic society and rights are given to one and all irrespective of their religion, caste, color and creed. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of Canada. Under Justin Trudeau, Canada boasts a diverse population that lives in harmony making the country one of the most pluralistic countries. Hence, democratic culture lays the foundations of a pluralistic society.

It took countries like USA and Britain centuries to develop a democratic culture. However, it is important to mention here that during this period, the democratic process was allowed to continue uninterrupted. Finally, these countries embraced the democratic culture in their political, economic and social lives. In these societies, democracy is not a form of government but a way of life which has resulted in

protection and promotion of cultural diversity and encourage active participation. On the other hand, countries like India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Philippines- which are democratic in form- have failed to develop a democratic culture. As a result, these countries are suffering from economic instability, poverty, oppression and political uncertainty. Civic participation is the lowest in these countries as people have limited control over their economic and political decisions.

The spirit of democracy can be inculcated in humans by promoting democratic culture in a society. Since family is the basic unit of a society and culture, it is necessary that democratic ideals are taught to children during their early years. Like any culture, democratic culture is also learnt through the process of socialization. Thus, family can play a critical role in the development of democratic customs, traditions, norms and values as it provides the first opportunity to the child to socialize. Similarly, transfer of democratic culture to the future generations is also important and it can be transmitted through education. Education is a vital component of any society but specially of a democracy. As Thomas Jefferson wrote: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and what never shall be." The aim of democratic education is to produce citizens who are independent, questioning and analytical in their outlook yet deeply familiar with percepts and practices of democracy.

Democracy is more than the sum of its institutions. A healthy democracy depends in large part on the development of a democratic civic culture. Culture in this sense does not refer to art, literature or music but to the behaviors, practices and norms that define the ability of a people to govern themselves. Democratic culture, as established in the essay, is crucial for any society to enjoy the true fruits of democracy. This calls upon all countries to prioritize the materialization of a democratic culture. Teaching the masses regarding the importance of democratic culture through agents of socialization is the key to success in this regard. In a nutshell, it is the evolution of democracy that develops a democratic culture, which in turn leads to true democracy.

CHAPTER

4

Social Impacts of Terrorism in Pakistan

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Terrorism has not only eroded the social structure of Pakistan but has also diverted state's attention from the key social issues.

2) Decoding Terrorism

- An ideological phenomenon
- Involves the use of force rather than logic for pursuance of goals
- Thrives by creating an atmosphere of fear

3) What the Social Impacts of Terrorism Are?

3.1) Deepening social polarization

3.2) Rise in ethnocentrism and xenophobic sentiments

Cases in point: *KP and Balochistan blaming Punjab for their social grievances while Punjab blaming them for the spread of terrorism

*Muhajirs and Sindhi nationalists blaming each other for terrorist activities in the province

3.3) Simmering crime rate

Case in point: Pakistan's crime rate index score of 44.58 versus a safety index score of 55.42 (Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad)

3.4) Abject poverty and massive unemployment leading to declining standards of living

Case in point: a poverty rate of about 40 percent (Pakistan bureau of statistics 2018)

3.5) Increased school dropouts in terror affected regions

Case in point: male literacy rate of 17 percent and female literacy rate of 3 percent in the erstwhile FATA

- 3.6) Decline in tourism and the number of foreign tourists
Case in point: Areas like Swat, Nanga Parbat base camp, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro have seen a sharp fall in number of tourists
- 3.7) Adverse impact on sports and recreational activities
Case in point: Pakistan unable to host any major sporting events following the terrorist attack on the Sri-Lankan cricket team in 2009

3.8) Absence of cultural events and festivals

3.9) Aggravation of the plight of Pakistani women

Case in Point: Malala Yusufzai gunshot to head by terrorists

4) **How Social Impacts of Terrorism In Pakistan Can Be Reduced?**

*Follow a three-pronged strategy:

- Isolation of local population from terrorist groups
- Implementation of uniform national curriculum focusing on promoting social tolerance
- Focus on community development programmes

5) **Conclusion:**

Terrorism leads to social grievances, which in turn, leads to further terrorism. This vicious cycle needs to be broken.

ESSAY

Pakistan has, during the course of its historical development, confronted the dilemma of accommodating centrifugal forces into mainstream national core doctrine. Such forces- owing allegiance to various ideological doctrines- have quickly escalated into destructive terrorist activities due to the ineptness shown by successive governments in restraining them. As a result, Pakistan has incurred tremendous political, economic and psychological losses in its fight against terrorism. On the social front, terrorism has not only eroded the country's social structure, but has also diverted the public expenditure to addressing security issues thereby affecting the state's efforts in addressing key social issues. Thus, a vicious cycle has been created in which the social impacts of terrorism have led to the emergence of social grievances.

This essay will start off by discussing terrorism as an ideological phenomenon. Once this is done, the focus of this discussion will shift to elucidating- with the aid of examples and illustrations- different social ramifications of terrorism in Pakistan. Finally, the discussion will be folded up by proposing a set of remedies- which if put in place- will help in rooting out terrorism from Pakistan.

Terrorism has no single definition. However, broadly speaking, terrorism refers to the use of force and violence rather than the use of logic to pursue certain goals. It is an ideological phenomenon that feeds on the extremist ideology. The terrorists usually create an atmosphere of fear in the general public as means to push for their demands. Pakistan has suffered a lot at the hands of terrorism. According to the **South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP)**, Pakistan has suffered more than fifty thousand fatalities in terrorist violence. Similarly, the economy of Pakistan has suffered a blow of more than forty million dollars. Although the social destruction caused by terrorism in Pakistan is incalculable, yet it is extremely worrying and distressing and has eroded the social structure of the country.

First and foremost, terrorism has created a deepening social polarization in Pakistan. A stable social order is imperative for promoting solidarity in a country. It strengthens the social structure and develops social tolerance in the society. However, in Pakistan, the social order received a severe blow due to ethnic and sectarian terrorism. The banned Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) collaborated with other sectarian and separatist organizations across Pakistan such as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA). They have been involved in killings of Christian minorities in Gojira (2009), attacks on Ahmadi mosques (2010), suicide attacks on the Hazara community (2012) and the target killings of Shia clerics. The gravity of the situation can be judged from the fact that certain ethnic and sectarian groups are not even ready to tolerate the existence of other groups. This deepening social polarization has caused a rift in the society and is a major threat to the very existence of Pakistan.

Terrorism has also given birth to ethnocentrism and xenophobia in Pakistan. Terrorism has deeply impacted the process of socialization that is instrumental for the social evolution of the society. Socialization is the process of internalization of norms, values and other cultural patterns for knowing one's role in a society. Social institutions such as the family, social group and school are important agents of socialization since they help in social interaction. This social interaction between various groups has declined due to a number of reasons giving birth to misunderstandings. Firstly, terrorism has increased our society's reliance on stereotypes, which in turn has led to more negative stereotyping by members of the targeted or victim groups. Judging the whole community on the basis of stereotypes has resulted in the development of ethnocentric and xenophobic attitude in certain groups. Hence, identification with one's own in-group has increased while support for other out-groups has decreased. Each group has been subjected to intolerance, harassment and discrimination by the other group. This hatred for the other group is clearly visible in the case of Punjab and other small provinces where the latter blame the former for their social grievances. Punjab on the other hand holds KP and Balochistan responsible for spreading terrorism

in Pakistan. Similarly, mistrust between Urdu speaking Muhajirs and Sindhi nationalists in urban Sindh has widened to such an extent that each one blames the other for terrorist activities in the province. With the passage of time, these stereotypes have been ingrained in the society to such an extent that they are now used as the sole criteria to judge the other group. This approach has posed a serious damage to the development of a core national doctrine based on mutual respect and understanding of the other groups in the society.

Similarly, the growing nexus between militant organizations and criminal networks has resulted in a drastic increase in the crime rate across Pakistan. Terrorists usually finance activities through extortions, ransom, kidnappings, target killings and robberies. The situation is even worse in Karachi and Peshawar where local criminal gangs have also jumped on the bandwagon. The social unrest has developed a feeling of insecurity among the masses. The crime index of Pakistan has seen a little improvement over the years from 58.71 in 2012 to 44.58 in 2019; however, this is still extremely high. This clearly shows an extremely high frequency of criminal activities. On the contrary, Pakistan's ranking on the safety index corresponded to a score of 55.42, which despite showing some improvement is one of the lowest in the world. This is a grave situation that clearly depicts a staggering increase in the overall crime rate in Pakistan.

Another major fallout of terrorism in Pakistan is the ever increasing poverty and massive unemployment. Poverty is not only a social impact but also a leading cause of terrorism. Around half of Pakistan's population is living below the poverty line. This percentage of poor people is even greater in regions gravely affected by terrorism such as the regions of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and parts of Balochistan. Frequent suicide attacks, bombings, deteriorating law and order situation has resulted in massive displacement of the local population. According to conservative estimates, approximately five million people have been internally displaced due to terrorism. They have left their lands, livestock, savings and belongings and moved to other areas of the country. These developments have led to massive unemployment in

the affected regions thereby increasing rural poverty. Moreover, in such dismal conditions, foreign investors are dissuaded from investing in Pakistan as a result of which the unemployment rate has increased manifold. Terrorism along with the fact that Pakistan is a security state has meant an increase in the overall defense expenditure of the country leaving extremely little for the government to spend on human and social development. As a result, the development of social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, universities, and community housing has taken a back seat. Hence, terrorism has resulted in widespread poverty and unemployment in Pakistan thereby deteriorating the overall standard of living of people.

Moving on, terrorism has resulted in increased school dropouts in terror affected region primarily. Most of the girls' schools in FATA were destroyed and vandalized by the extremists for dispensing modern or western style education. Many parents refused to allow their children to go to school because of the fear of being persecuted by the extremists. According to the extremist viewpoint prevalent in Pakistan, seeking education is erroneously linked with following in the footsteps of the western culture. This has paved the way for the destruction of various schools at the hands of terrorists. This has had a deep impact on the Pakistan in innumerable ways. Targeting of schools has not only instilled fear in those willing to pursue education but has also led to increased dropouts in the region. FATA has one of the lowest literacy rates in Pakistan with only seventeen percent males and a paltry three percent females as literate. Hence, terrorism has shaken the educational foundations of Pakistan.

The tourism sector of Pakistan has also suffered heavily owing to terrorism. Tourist destinations in Pakistan have always been successful in catching international limelight. Pakistan has been praised internationally for its exquisite landscapes, snow-capped mountains and mesmerizing scenic beauty. Be it trekking or mountaineering, tourism has been the most reliable source of inflow of money for Pakistan. Unfortunately, terrorism, political instability and violence in Pakistan have deeply impacted the tourism industry. Terrorist activities in Swat and the killing of foreigners

at the Nanga Parbat base camp significantly reduced the number of foreign tourists coming to Pakistan. Similarly, historic sites in Punjab and Sindh such as Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are no longer a source of attraction and research for archaeologists and anthropologists from all over the world. After the situation got worse in Pakistan, certain Western countries started issuing Negative Travel Advisories (NTA) for Pakistan. An NTA is a warning issued by a government to prevent its citizens from visiting certain countries. Thus, tourism- which is a major source of revenue for Pakistan- has also suffered a lot due to terrorism in Pakistan.

Terrorism has had an adverse impact on the sporting and recreation domains in Pakistan. Sports is one of the few things that have brought international recognition to Pakistan. Pakistan has a long history of producing brilliant sportsmen in squash, hockey, cricket and snooker. Unfortunately, the wave of terrorism has adversely impacted all sports activities in Pakistan. A glaring example in this regard is the fallout of the terrorist attack on the Sri-Lankan cricket team in 2009. Following this attack, Pakistan has been unable to host any major sporting events in the country. Pakistan is often referred to as a cricket loving nation. This was manifest in how the entire nation exhibited tremendous unity in 1992 when the Pakistani cricket team won the world cup. However, it is a pity that the country has now become starved for cricket. This has resulted in tremendous loss for the domestic talent, which is not getting enough international exposure. Thus, terrorism shoulders the entire blame for Pakistan's inability to host major sporting events.

The absence of cultural events and festivals in Pakistan in the recent times is also attributable to the menace of terrorism. Recreational activities, cultural events, social festivals, arts and music are essential for the social growth of any society. However, the extremist factions in Pakistan adhere to a narrow and strict interpretation of Islam. Therefore, they have publicly condemned these activities and have gone on to declare such activities 'un-Islamic.' Hence, the country has witnessed a considerable decrease in the organization of such events after terrorism took its toll on Pakistan. In the absence

of any means of entertainment, Pakistanis have been deprived of an important agent of socialization.

Lastly, in addition, terrorism has aggravated the plight of women in Pakistan. It is commonly believed that women empowerment is crucial for a society to prosper. In fact, the founding father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah attached great importance to gender equality.

"No nation can rise to the height of glory until your women are side by side with you."
(Muhammad Ali Jinnah)

These words clearly call upon all Pakistanis to allow women to exercise their due rights. However, it is a pity that women are confined to the four walls of their houses. Terrorists warn women against voting, deprive them of their fundamental right to education and target feminists. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of Malala Yusufzai. An open advocate of girl education, she was unfazed in her mission despite warnings by the extremists. Eventually, the terrorists entered her school bus and shot her in the head. This is one of the many incidents showing how women rights are blatantly abused in the presence of terrorism.

Although the social impacts of terrorism in Pakistan are far-reaching, yet they can be contained and even reversed. This can be done by implementing a three pronged strategy. Firstly, the local population needs to be isolated from the terrorists so as to ensure that they don't fall prey to the extremist brainwashing. Once this is taken care of, the education curriculum of Pakistan needs to be revised. There is a dire need for the country to adopt a uniform education system throughout the country. Moreover, the focus of this uniform system must be to disseminate pluralistic values. Pluralism, if realized would ensure that diversity is celebrated and that there is no space for extremism in the society. Last but not least, the government of Pakistan needs to collaborate with the private sector to kick-start a massive socio-economic reforms package. It must not be forgotten that majority of the people resort to terrorism out of

frustration of unemployment and poverty. So, if these things are taken care of in the first place, there is going to be a very slim chance of people taking up arms and resorting to terrorism. Pakistan must take a leaf out of the Chinese books. China is adhering to this three pronged strategy as means to eliminate terrorism from Western China. So, implementation of this strategy on a priority basis would be a welcome step in terms of ridding Pakistan of the menace of terrorism.

To conclude, terrorism has indeed spelt disaster for the social prosperity and harmony of Pakistan. This is a major predicament since it threatens to erode the social fabric of the society, which is extremely crucial for a quality and peaceful life. Hence, the situation warrants immediate attention of the policy makers and other stakeholders. They need to devise a comprehensive framework required to eliminate terrorism from Pakistan on a priority basis. This looks difficult but is not impossible. Complete de-radicalization of the society by isolating common people from terrorists, tailoring the education system to disseminate pluralistic values and ensuring socio-economic prosperity of the masses at large is the key to success.

CHAPTER

5

*Minority is a Fate Nobody Wants.
Can Nationalism Really be
Inclusive?*

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Rise of nationalistic sentiments across the globe spell disaster for minorities since unbridled nationalism leads to socio-economic-political and religious subjugation of minorities. There is hence a dire need to address the factors that prevent nationalism from being truly inclusive.

2) A Brief Overview of Nationalism:

- A historical overview of the phenomenon of nationalism
- Rabindranath Tagore's view of nationalism
- George Orwell's view on nationalism
- Allama Iqbal- one of the earliest critics of the western definition and understanding of nationalism

2) Rise of Nationalism across the globe:

2.1) Trump's surprising surge to popularity and his "America First" slogan.

2.2) The Brexit episode triggered by nationalist sentiments.

2.3) Rise of nationalist parties across Europe.

Case in point: i) France National front

ii) Alternative for Germany

2.4) Modi-fied India under BJP pursuing ultra-nationalism.

3) Plight of minorities in the wake of rising Nationalism:

3.1) Atrocities against Rohingya Muslims or "The Boat people" by Myanmar's government.

3.2) Subjugation of Kurdish minority in Turkey.

3.3) Kashmiris denied the right of self-determination by India.

3.4) Destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Tibetan China.

→ Order of Chinese Government to demolish scores of monasteries.

3.5) Plight of Muslims before the advent of Islam in Arabia.

3.6) Brutalities against Ahmadis and Shias in Pakistan.

3.7) Fate of minorities in India.

Case in point: Beef ban imposed in several states in India.

4) **Why is it difficult to make Nationalism inclusive?**

4.1) Fragmentations within a society on the basis of caste, colour, language make it difficult for nationalism to be inclusive.

4.2) Scarcity of resources leads to competition and gives impetus to nationalism.

4.3) Short-sightedness on part of leaders during campaigns to promote ultra-nationalist sentiments. (Modi and Trump)

5) **How can Nationalism be made inclusive?**

5.1) Downplaying differences among people to raise national consciousness.

5.2) Onus on leaders to keep nationalism in check.

5.3) Tailoring the educational curricula to include content that promotes inclusiveness and pluralism.

5.4) Vibrant role of media.

6) **Conclusion**

Nationalism, if left unbridled, is devastating for minorities; dire need to make nationalism inclusive; an uphill task but not impossible; promoting pluralism, raising national awareness and vibrant role of media are the keys to success.

ESSAY

Twenty-first century boasted inclusiveness and pluralism through promotion of the engines of globalization and inter-connectedness. However, as unfortunate as it may seem, forces of nationalism began to occupy a central stage in international politics. Even though nationalism, if kept in check, promotes unity and patriotism, unbridled or ultra-nationalism spells disaster for minorities. Trump's "America First" slogan; the Brexit episode; rise of nationalist parties across Europe; and India's pursuance of ultra-nationalism under the BJP are all manifestations of rising nationalism. Exclusive nationalism leads to the political subjugation of minorities as manifest in the plight of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar and the subjugation of the Kurds in Turkey. It also paves way for the religious persecution of minorities. For instance, the destruction of Buddhist monasteries, religious persecution of the Muslims of Arabia in the initial years of Islam and the marginalization of Kashmiris in India illustrate how ultra-nationalism curtails the freedom of religion of minorities. Nationalism, if left unchecked, also socially alienates the minorities. This is illustrated in the failure to socially integrate the Ahmadis and Shias in Pakistan's community and problems faced by minorities in India to freely practice and celebrate their socio-cultural festivities. There is a dire need to address the factors that prevent nationalism from being truly inclusive if the society is to realize long term socio-economic prosperity.

This essay first seeks to highlight how nationalism is on the rise in the twenty-first century. Once it is established, it will be shown- with the aid of examples- how nationalism spells disaster for the fate of minorities. Then, the focus of the essay will shift to elucidating factors that prevent nationalism from becoming truly inclusive. Eventually, the discussion will be folded by proposing a few strategies that are required in order to make nationalism inclusive such that it does not interfere with the rights of minorities.

One of the most contested ideas in the twenty-first century is nationalism. Since its birth in 1780 till this day, nationalism is not going anywhere anytime soon. The idea first helped the Western nations to consolidate their frontiers. Later on, it helped these nations to expand further beyond their defined territories to occupy foreign lands. But the colonised ones learned a great deal from their masters. And nationalism, undoubtedly, proved to be the most effective tool in the hands of anti-colonial leaders of the last century to drive out the colonists from their lands. However, they rarely, if ever, realised the negative aspects of the idea. Since then till this day, nationalism has metamorphosed into a perfect tool to suppress dissent. It has been used to a devastating effect to blame minorities for all that is wrong with a government's policies. Demagogues wrongly rely on nationalism to take their respective countries to a new height of greatness, giving little thought to the globally broken neoliberal economic order. One of the Sub-continental giants **Rabindranath Tagore**, of course, along with **Muhammad Iqbal**, was one of the earliest critics of Western understanding and definition of nationalism. Tagore once remarked, "This nationalism is a cruel epidemic of evil that is sweeping over the human world of the present age, eating into its moral vitality." And to this cruel epidemic of evil humanity has suffered two world wars in the last century. For George Orwell, nationalism is "the habit of identifying oneself with a single nation or other unit, placing it beyond good and evil and recognising no other duty than that of advancing its interests." No wonder that humanity at large at the expense of one unit's interests suffers in extremes. The recent chaos on virtually every continent has its roots in the concept of nationalism that the United States is so keen on upholding that every US president wants to protect the US interests in any corner of the world by any means necessary. And the crisis is not just one facet. Far too many countries are experiencing endemic violence, fuelled by hatreds towards minorities and a toxic form of nationalism.

Trump's surprising surge to popularity can be attributed to his tugging at people's nationalist sentiments. The entire campaign of Trump was pillared on "America First" slogan, which enunciated that the prosperity of Native Americans would be his top most priority once he assumed office. This was particularly disturbing for the minorities, who began to ponder over how they may be excluded if Trump comes to power, which he did.

The Brexit episode was also triggered by nationalist sentiments. The long standing grievances of the British natives against the EU nationals taking their jobs and benefitting more than them from their indigenous resources culminated in people opting out of the EU in what came to be known as Brexit. This was yet another strand of rising nationalism in the international polity. Sadly enough, the story of rising nationalism does not end here. A wave of nationalist parties has swept throughout Europe in the recent past. People, disgruntled with the failure of globalization to deliver as per its promises, have started to support parties erected on a nationalist agenda. Two prominent parties worth mentioning in this regard are "France's Nationalist Front" spearheaded by Marine Le Pen and the "Alternative for Germany" party. The rise of these parties insinuates the closing of borders to the exclusion of minorities such as Muslims of Europe.

The rise to power of the ultra-nationalist Hindu BJP leader seriously irked the Sikhs and Muslims living in India. Modi-fied India, embarking upon ultra-nationalism, under the banner of the right wing BJP party has been accused by various circles from across the globe of oppressing and marginalizing the minorities. This is very ironic- the fact that India claims to be the champion of democracy but continues to flagrantly violate the rights of minorities using the rhetoric of nationalism as their main weapon.

Now that it has been established that forces of nationalism are on the rise in the international arena, it is worthwhile to elucidate, through examples how the social,

economic, religious and political rights of minorities are infringed upon owing to exclusive nationalism. So the next few paragraphs will be dedicated to establishing the aforementioned claim.

The atrocities against Rohingya Muslims by the Myanmar government is the first example that comes to mind when discussing the plight of minorities in the wake of exclusive nationalism. The government of Myanmar has refused to acknowledge the political rights of Rohingya Muslims and has embarked on a journey of expelling them from Burma. This has left several Rohingya Muslims stranded at sea and their labelling as "The boat people". A while back, social media was flooded with the pictures of Rohingya Muslim child who lost his life at sea owing to the lack of food and hostile conditions surrounding those stranded at sea. However, this did not prove reason enough for the Burmese government to do something about the predicament of the boat people.

Subjugation of the Kurdish minority in Turkey is yet another example that depicts the grave situation of minorities living under exclusive nationalism. The Kurdish-Turkish government dispute is a long-standing dispute whereby the latter refuses to recognize the social and political rights of the former. In a bloody conflict that has now sustained for several years, more than fifty thousand Kurds have lost their lives in the offensive launched against them by the Turkish government.

The denial to Kashmiris of their right of self-determination is yet another example that is worth mentioning in this regard. For several years, the Indian government has systematically subjugated the Kashmiris. This phenomenon has caused grave human rights violations and has brought criticism to India by various quarters of the world. However, the Indians have turned a blind eye to all of this and have continued oppressing Kashmiris proving that inclusive nationalism is no word in their jargon.

The systematic destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Tibetan China shows the ill-fate of minorities living under the banner of exclusive nationalism. In 2016, the Chinese government ordered the destruction of several monasteries in Tibetan China. This move was severely criticized by the human rights watch. However, the Chinese government turned a blind eye to it and several monasteries are being demolished as we write.

The torture experienced by the Muslims of Arabia at the time of the advent of Islam is another example worth mentioning. Naturally, the Muslims were in minority when the Prophet (a) began preaching Islam. The Quraish aborigines regarded the Muslims as outliers and severely persecuted them. They hurled abuses at the Muslims; threw stones at them; defamed Islam; and did not let them practice their religion in peace.

Unfortunately, Pakistani society has also fallen prey to the evil of the subjugation of minorities by the society. Ahmadis and Shias residing in Pakistan are subject to constant hate and violence owing to unwillingness on the part of the larger society to integrate them. Failure of the police to take action against the heinous acts such as the burning of Ahmadi villages and lynching of Shias is attributable to the popular public opinion not to integrate the victims in the mainstream society.

The dismal fate of minorities in India- Sikhs and Muslims in particular - cannot be discounted. Ultra-nationalist leader of India, Narendra Modi has been accused of subjugating Sikhs and Muslims of India. Ever since he assumed office, threats directed against Muslims and restrictions interfering with their freedom have been on the rise. Beef ban imposed in several states hurts the religious sentiments of the Muslims living as minorities in India. Moreover, failure of law enforcement agencies to take notice of several threats to Sikh and Muslim cricketers in Indian cricket team following India's defeat to Pakistan in the Champions Trophy (2017) final speaks volumes regarding the misery of minorities living in India.

In the preceding paragraphs, it has been illustrated that minority is a fate nobody wants generally and more so in the presence of exclusive nationalism. Hence, it makes sense now to delve deep into the causes that prevent nationalism from being truly inclusive.

Perhaps the most important factor responsible for preventing nationalism from being truly inclusive is the scarcity of resources. The staggering increase in the world population to 7.1 billion has intensified competition among people for scarce resources. This has caused people to use nationalism as a tool to push the leaders to prefer the mainstream indigenous people over minorities while distributing and allocating resources. Therefore, scarcity of resources and the competition that ensues has interfered with nationalism becoming truly inclusive.

Another important factor that interferes with nationalism from becoming truly inclusive is the short-sightedness on the part of the leaders. Some leaders, blinded by the desire to come to power, tug at people's nationalist sentiments thereby sowing seeds of hatred against the minorities. Two leaders worth mentioning in this backdrop are USA's current president Donald Trump and India's Narendra Modi. Both rose to popularity by using nationalism as a tool to win people's support.

Fragmentations within a society on the basis of colour, caste and language make it difficult for nationalism to become inclusive. If the society is divided on so many different lines, it becomes a herculean task for the government and policy makers to draft laws and policies that are reflective of inclusive nationalism. This unfortunately contributes to the plight of minorities.

The last section of this essay will be devoted to proposing a few remedies that need to be put in place in order to make nationalism truly inclusive. The next couple of paragraphs will discuss the policy measures required to curtail the plight of minorities living under exclusive nationalism.

To combat the menace of nationalism, we need a vision as meaningful as what the counter-enlightenment created. We need a vision that can make people feel like they're a part of something greater than their limited selves. And this vision has to be without all the violence, racism, misogyny, religious fundamentalism, and authoritarianism that propelled demagogues to power in virtually every other nation.

The first step required to make nationalism truly inclusive is to downplay and eradicate differences among people to raise national consciousness. Once their differences are rooted out, people will learn to coexist peacefully and there would be significant improvement in the plight of minorities.

The onus is on leaders as well to keep nationalism in check. If this is done, rights of everyone – majority as well as minority- will be safeguarded. Hence, it is imperative for leaders to exhibit vision and instead of cultivating nationalist desires, teach people to learn to live together for realizing a peaceful and prosperous society.

Tailoring the educational curricula in order to incorporate the content that promotes inclusiveness and plurality could be a significant step towards making nationalism inclusive. A major reason why people are easily manipulated by nationalist leaders or driven towards ultra-nationalism is the lack of awareness of the potential pitfalls of exclusive nationalism. Hence, a well devised national curricula that promotes pluralism can help take care of this problem.

Last but not the least, the role of media is also instrumental in making nationalism truly inclusive. Media has rightly been called the fourth pillar of the state since it shapes public opinion. Therefore media must play a vibrant role in this regard and teach people simultaneously the pitfalls of exclusive nationalism and the potential benefits of inclusive nationalism.

To conclude, it can safely be stated that minority is a fate nobody wants especially in the wake of exclusive nationalism. Minorities living under such circumstances are deprived of their fundamental rights and their freedom is severely compromised. Hence, there is a dire need for all stakeholders to eradicate the menace of ultra-nationalism if we are to realize a peaceful and prosperous society. It is an uphill task but is by no means impossible. The feat can be achieved through relentless and timely efforts. Promoting the values of liberal democracy such as pluralism, raising national awareness and the vibrant role of media are the keys to success to make nationalism truly inclusive.

CHAPTER**6**

Importance of Free Speech

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction:**
A critical glance at the history of mankind underscores an important lesson: freedom of speech is an essential pre-requisite for the social, intellectual, economic and political prosperity of any society.
- 2) **Decoding the Phrase "Free Speech":**
 - philosophical origin (ideas of John Stuart Mill and Voltaire)
 - free speech refers to the ability of people to voice their beliefs, ideas, attitudes and opinions without the fear of being suppressed
 - legal basis- Article 19 of the Universal declaration of Human Rights
- 3) **Importance of Free Speech:**
 - 3.1) Promotes tolerance and lays the foundations of a pluralistic society
Case in Point: Canada under Justin Trudeau
 - 3.2) A sine-qua-non for the democratic culture to flourish
Case in Point: comparison of North Korea and Norway
 - 3.3) Leads to inclusive decision making
Case in point: Formulation of the US constitution in 1789
 - 3.4) Enhances accountability
Case in point: resignation of Icelandic Prime Minister in the wake of the panama scandal
 - 3.5) Paves way for political revolutions
Cases in point:
 - * French revolution
 - * Arab Spring
 - 3.6) A tool to eradicate social evils from the society

Case in point: anti-apartheid movement in South Africa under the leadership of Nelson Mandela

3.7) Drives a society towards innovation

Case in point: Case study of Copernicus and Galileo

3.8) Helps societies in their fight against colonialism as well as neo-colonialism

Cases in point: * Subcontinent's independence from the British colonial rule

* "Age of Anger" by Pankaj Mishra

4) **Case Studies- Instances where suppression of freedom of expression wreaked havoc on the society:**

4.1) The China Tiananmen Square Massacre

4.2) The Kashmiri Plight

Recipe to Promote and Celebrate Freedom of Speech:

- Role of agents of socialization in teaching the importance of free speech
- Onus on leaders to set an exemplary tone for the masses
- Transitioning from a democratic process to a democratic culture

Conclusion:

Freedom of speech must be treated as an inalienable human right if the global society is to prosper in all walks of life.

ESSAY

"I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it" (Voltaire)

These words of the French philosopher Voltaire come to mind whenever the subject of free speech is being discussed. He, along with John Stuart Mill, attached great importance to the idea of free speech. As society progressed, people began to realize the importance of freedom of speech and it was eventually codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is the most comprehensive human rights document till date. There has been considerable debate among different schools of thought regarding what the nature of free speech must be. Some people argue that it must be unrestrained whereas others opine that while this right is an inalienable human right, it must never be used to hurt the sensitivities of other people. However, the idea that everyone converges on is that freedom of speech is an essential pre-requisite for the social, intellectual, economic and political prosperity of any society.

To begin with, it is pertinent to trace the historical and philosophical origins of the idea of freedom of speech. John Stuart Mill, one of the most influential thinkers that history has seen, was a staunch advocate of free speech. According to him, developing societies can only prosper if they celebrate free speech. Voltaire is another influential philosopher whose name is closely associated with the idea of freedom of expression. According to these thinkers, freedom of speech refers to the ability of people to voice their opinions, ideas, attitudes and beliefs without the fear of being marginalized and subjugated by the society. The importance of this right can further be gauged from the fact that it has become a permanent part of almost all constitutions throughout the globe. In addition, it has also been enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The entire international community is of the view that if kept under check, freedom of speech steers the global ship towards prosperity.

First and foremost, right to free speech plays a pivotal role in the creation of a tolerant and pluralistic society. Pluralism and tolerance are considered the hallmarks of any civilized society. Such societies celebrate difference of opinion and cater to the needs of all segments of the population. This ensures that people belonging to different religions, ethnicities, sects or races all co-exist peacefully. The post UN era is often described as the era of globalization. In a globalized world, there is free flow of people and cultural intermingling has become quite pronounced. Hence, it is important for people belonging to different backgrounds to be tolerant towards others' viewpoints and belief systems. Here comes the importance of free speech. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of Canada under Justin Trudeau. The Canadian president epitomizes the spirit of free speech and tolerance and is often seen interacting with and participating in the cultural and religious events of different communities living in Canada. It is for this reason that Canada boasts a society where freedom of speech is a right accorded to one and all. Hence, the Canadian case study clearly depicts the value of free speech in terms of realizing a tolerant and pluralistic society.

In addition to this, free speech is a *sine-qua-non* for the democratic culture to flourish. It is considered as the bed-rock of democracy. The right of free speech provides the opposition parties with a tool to check the excesses of the ruling government. In addition, through free speech, different stakeholders in the democratic process can pressurize the government to work for the welfare of the society. Even the masses can protest against any action or decision of the government as means to safeguard their stakes in the democratic culture. On the other hand, in autocratic regimes, the masses are deprived of this fundamental right to free speech. According to a report published by the World Bank, North Korea- a country characterized by the despotic regime of Kim Jong Un- has the lowest degree of freedom of expression in the world. Norway on the other hand tops the list and is rightly known as one of the best functioning democracies

in the world. These case studies are reason enough for one to believe that there exists a strong correlation between freedom of speech and the strength of democracy in a nation.

Moving on, free speech is a tool that leads to inclusive decision making. While making an important decision, it is extremely important that the viewpoints of all stakeholders are taken in to account. This has a two pronged effect: firstly, it will instil in everyone a sense of ownership thereby enhancing unity among the masses and secondly, the decision that accommodates varying viewpoints is likely to be in the best interest of the nation or group that takes the decision. On the contrary, highly centralized decisions result in aggrieved masses and the probability of that decision bearing fruit is extremely slim. An example that perfectly fits within the frame is that of the US constitution in 1789. Representatives of all the erstwhile states attended the convention for formulating the constitution of the United States. Every state defended its own interests. There was fierce debate on several key issues and at multiple times, the convention was on the verge of collapse. However, it was saved through compromises reached through negotiations. The end product was a constitution that satisfied all stakeholders. Hence, it was the freedom of speech exercised by all the participating representatives that the Union of fifty-three states, which make up USA, still exists. Similarly, holy prophet's (PBUH) decision to act on the suggestion of Hazrat Salman Farsi to dig a ditch in the battle of Khandaq proved that free speech can help a nation reach the best decision under trying circumstances. Hence, free speech is crucial for inclusive decision making and hence for the benefit of a society at large.

In addition to this, free speech helps in enhancing accountability. Accountability is a key tenet of democracy that seeks to hold the leaders, policy makers and individuals accountable for their decisions. It therefore ensures that there is a strong system of checks and balances and that no institution or individual is overstepping its domain.

This also ensures that the rights of people are not infringed upon. With the advent of technology, people have found in social media platforms a new platform to voice their grievances and hence hold the leaders accountable for any possible malpractice. Perhaps the best example that helps illustrate this is that of the resignation of the Icelandic prime minister. In the wake of the panama scandal, people from within and outside Iceland exercised their right of free speech and called upon their leader to resign. Eventually, the erstwhile Icelandic premiere succumbed. This was hailed as a major victory of free speech in terms of holding the leaders and policy makers accountable for their actions and decisions.

Another major benefit of free speech is its ability to ignite political revolutions. A common dictum says that revolution is not an apple that falls when it is ripe; you have to make it fall. The right of free speech is a tool required for speaking out against political evils and hence setting the stage for a political revolution. French revolution is an apt example in this regard. The revolution of 1789 bore fruition due to people speaking up against the repressive government, unfair taxation policy and deep inequalities in the society. This was hailed as a landmark achievement of the right of free speech in terms of securing the rights of liberty and equality. Moreover, events leading up to the Arab Spring are also worth mentioning in this regard. As soon as a fruit vendor- who was fed up of the despotic Tunisian regime- set himself ablaze, people took to streets and called upon the Tunisian leader to step down. This was a successful event as a result of which the entire wave spread throughout the Arab world. Hence, it can rightly be stated that freedom of expression is crucial in order for a political revolution to surface.

Besides political revolutions, free speech- if executed properly- can also help in rooting out social evils from the society. The first step in order to root out a potential evil from the society is awareness regarding that evil. No social ill can be eliminated

unless and until a critical mass of people speaks up against that malpractice. For instance, feminists have been extremely vocal about ameliorating the plight of women and breaking the shackles of gender inequality. Similarly, human rights activists speak up against gross human rights violations as means to put an end to human rights abuses occurring anywhere in the world. An episode worth quoting here is the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. During the apartheid era, coloured people were subjected to intense discrimination by the 'white' populace in South Africa. Separate public spaces, buses, schools and other infrastructure were reserved for the black people living in the erstwhile South Africa. However, people mobilized under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and spoke up against such discriminatory and inhumane treatment meted out to them. Eventually, these vocal and physical efforts bore fruit and the chains of racial discrimination in the country were broken once and for all. In a nutshell, free speech is an important ingredient for any social revolution to materialize.

Moving on, free speech plays an instrumental role in steering a society towards innovation. Innovation, which is the outcome of freedom of speech, is at the heart of development for any society. Societies where innovation is discouraged are at a considerable disadvantage. Innovation has made air travel a reality; innovation is the reason behind medical advancements; innovation has made communication easier and it is innovation that is the reason for man to live a comfortable life. An example that underscores the importance of free speech as an agent of innovation is the case study of Copernicus and Galileo. In ancient times, it was believed that the universe is based on a geo-centric model- an arrangement whereby the earth was thought to be at the centre of the universe while the sun and other planets revolved around it. Copernicus and Galileo challenged this notion and posited that the universe followed a helio-centric model whereby the earth and other planets revolved around the sun. Initially, the Catholic Church was furious at this claim. However, later on, it was realized that their claim was

correct. This is a glaring example that speaks volumes regarding how important free speech is for innovation.

Free speech is an extremely potent tool in terms of taking a stance against colonial and neo-colonial regimes. In the pre-UN era, colonial powers such as Britain and France directly invaded areas like the subcontinent and Africa respectively. These colonial masters handicapped the local dynamics of these countries and kept the masses subjugated. However, free speech in the form of revolutionary ideas was a major driving force that led to decolonization of these areas. For instance, independence of subcontinent from the British rule was propelled by revolutionary ideas of various writers. These ideas drove the masses to call for independent homelands for both the Muslims as well as the Hindus. In the post UN era, global powers have resorted to neo-colonialism- a practice whereby powerful countries do not directly invade countries but use different tools of globalization in order to spread the tentacles of their domination over the relatively less powerful countries. Writers like Pankaj Mishra, Tariq Ali and Arundhati Roy have spoken at length against these malpractices. Hence, free speech holds a pivotal stage in terms of mobilizing people in the fight against colonial as well as neo-colonial regimes.

There are several examples that demonstrate how a society is worse off in the absence of the right to free speech. The first case study is that of the Tiananmen Square Massacre in Beijing, China in 1989. This was a student led peaceful procession that called for the installation of democracy in the country. However, the Chinese authorities denied them their right of free speech and in the events that followed, the Chinese security forces used assault rifles and tanks to kill several hundreds of demonstrators at the Tiananmen Square. Had these people been allowed to register their protest and exercise the right to freedom of expression, the gross killings could have been avoided.

Another major instance whereby people have been denied their right to free speech is the plight of the people of Kashmir. The creation of UN promised an era of decolonization in line with the principle of the right to self-determination enshrined in the UN charter. However, Kashmir is a glaring example of how the people living here have been denied of even their right to speak without being persecuted. In a horrific sequence of events following Burhan Wani's death, the Indian armed forces resorted to the use of rubber pellets on the supporters of Burhan Wani when they were exercising their legitimate right to protest peacefully. The constant unrest in Kashmir- owing to the Indian intransigence- is a grave depiction of how freedom of speech, when denied, causes bloodshed and unrest in that society.

Now that the importance of freedom of speech has been discussed at length, it is imperative to propose a set of remedies, which if put in place would help promote the culture of freedom of speech. Constructive role of the agents of socialization is important in this regard. These agents- namely family, school, peers and media- should shoulder the responsibility of teaching people the importance of free speech right from the early stages of childhood. Moreover, the leaders need to exhibit exemplary conduct in this regard. If leaders start celebrating freedom of speech and dissent, the masses will follow in the footsteps of their leaders. If this happens, the dream of freedom of speech would become a reality. Lastly, bringing about a democratic culture is pivotal in this regard. Freedom of expression is a core democratic value. So, if a country properly makes a transition from democratic process to democratic culture, freedom of speech would automatically take roots in the society.

"If freedom of speech is taken away, then dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter." (George Washington)

To conclude, freedom of speech is as important for society as a heart is for a human. Depriving people of their legitimate right to freedom of expression is a grave problem

since it stagnates that society and sets an extremely dangerous precedent for future generations. This requires collaborative efforts by the international community to bring about a culture of freedom of speech. Doing so requires great effort but is not impossible. Constructive role of the agents of socialization and the world leaders is the key to success in this regard.

CHAPTER

7

*Is Colonial Mentality Impeding
Pakistan's Progress?*

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction:**
Attempted imitation of erstwhile colonial masters by the elite of Pakistan, due to a perceived inferiority complex, is obstructing the political, economic, social and cultural growth of Pakistan.
- 2) **Contextualizing the Key Variables:**
 - **Colonial mentality:** a complex of feelings, thoughts, attitudes and behaviour of trying to imitate former colonial masters due to a perception of inferiority to them
 - **Progress:** a holistic term for social, economic, political and human capital development.
- 3) **How Is Colonial Mentality Impeding Pakistan's Progress?**
 - 3.1) Economic dependency on the west- a facet of colonial mentality
Case in point: \$78.3 billion between 1948 and 2016 from USA, £665 million (from 2009–2013) from U.K.
 - 3.2) Hefty military spending has left human development in tatters- a manifestation of colonial mindset
Case in point:
 - Education spending: around 2 percent of GDP
 - Health spending: about 1 percent of GDP
 - Military spending: in excess of 20 percent of GDP (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)
 - 3.3) Obsession with foreign brands owing to the perception of foreign products being superior to the local ones
 - 3.4) Extractive institutions and patron client political economy- a result of colonial mindset
Case in Point: arguments in "The Era of Darkness: British Empire in India" by Shashi Tharoor

ESSAY

Fourteenth of August 1947 saw Pakistan finally breaking away from the clutches of the colonial regime of Britain. Despite a host of problems that haunted Pakistan at the time of independence, the founding father of the nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah envisioned Pakistan to be a progressive, pluralistic and prosperous nation in the times to come. However, the vision of Quaid-e-Azam unfortunately remains an elusive dream even in the contemporary era. A major reason that accounts for the sorry state of affairs of Pakistan is the country's abject failure to break the shackles of the colonial mindset, which it inherited at the time of partition. In a nutshell, attempted imitation of erstwhile colonial masters by the elite of Pakistan, due to a perceived inferiority complex, is obstructing the political, economic, social and cultural growth of Pakistan.

First and foremost, it is imperative to decode what the phrase colonial mentality entails. It is a complex of feelings, thoughts, ideas, attitudes and behaviour of trying to imitate the former colonial masters as role models due to a perceived inferiority to them. Progress, in this case, is an all-encompassing term that refers to social, political, economic, cultural and human capital development. In the context of Pakistan, the colonial mentality has proven itself to be a major stumbling block in the country's path to progress.

The tendency of Pakistani rulers and policy makers to rely on foreign aid as means to deal with the country's economic woes is a facet of colonial mentality. Britain, being colonial masters, developed a narrative that the natives of the subcontinent could not survive without their economic support. In order to strengthen their rule, the imperial masters doled out money to those who were ready to support the British cause in the subcontinent. This mentality prevailed even after Pakistan emerged as an independent country. For instance, different leaders, throughout the course of Pakistan's history, simply rush to the Western powers with a begging bowl in order to address Pakistan's economic woes. This is a grave problem since it has diverted the focus of leaders from bringing about structural reforms in order to improve the economy of Pakistan. Rather,

3.5) Feudalism, which seeks to keep people subjugated and opposes land reforms, is a product of colonial legacy
"My Feudal Lord" by Tehmina Durrani

3.6) Getting embroiled in wars upon the US orders- a manifestation of colonial mentality
Case in point: Zia's decision to get involved in the Afghan war
Musharraf's decision to join war on terror

3.7) Blind imitation of the type and nature of western education shows colonial mindset
Case in point: perception of English as the elite language

3.8) Colonial mindset results in brain drain from Pakistan
Case in Point: 2.765million Pakistanis went abroad in five years (UNESCO)

3.9) Weakening social fabric and culture of Pakistani society due to colonial mentality
Cases in point: * Shifting trend towards nuclear families
* Caste system causing social polarization

4) A Framework to Break the Shackles of Colonial Mentality

- Institutional harmony
- Constructive role of media
- Rooting out feudalism

5) Conclusion:

It is a crying need of the hour for Pakistan to break the shackles of colonial mentality on a priority basis.

leaders and policy makers resort to the reactionary measure of asking for aid. According to several estimates, Pakistan received aid amounting to \$78.3 billion between 1948 and 2016 from USA and £665 million (from 2009–2013) from the U.K. This is extremely problematic since it has trapped Pakistan in the vicious cycle of debt. In order to pay off the debt, Pakistan has always had to borrow more. So, the begging bowl syndrome that plagues Pakistan at large is indeed a colonial legacy.

Moving on, colonial mentality is a major reason behind the shambolic state of human development in Pakistan. In order to strengthen their rule in the subcontinent, the British colonial masters devoted a major chunk of funds on maintaining law and order. This meant a hefty spending on the military affairs and a very meagre amount on social development of the masses. As a result, there were very few educational institutions and hospitals in the subcontinent. This colonial mentality has continued to plague Pakistan even after its independence. There is no denying the fact that Pakistan is a security state and needs to spend a lot on securing its borders. However, extremely little spending on health and education is manifest in Pakistan's poor rank on human development indicators. Pakistan spends only around two percent of its GDP on education and almost one percent of its GDP on health. This is in stark contrast to a staggering twenty percent of GDP spending on military. Keeping these factors in mind, it becomes amply clear that the shambolic state of health and education in Pakistan is due to the colonial mentality.

The colonial mindset is prevalent among common man too. Their obsession with foreign brands for consumer items is due to an exaggerated esteem of the West. This adoption of foreign brands for everyday consumable items coupled with the inability of local producers to match the required quality is resulting in a heavy burden on Pakistan's import bill. Failure to develop export infrastructure and add value to the local products in order to make them competitive has further accentuated the trade deficit of Pakistan. Colonial mentality is also debilitating the economic potential of Pakistan in the form of Pakistan's fascination with the Western capitalistic model. In the absence of state intervention in the economic sphere, income disparities in Pakistan have risen to

unprecedented levels. This has shrunk the size of the middle class in Pakistan. So, the obsession with foreign goods and the western capitalistic model is another fallout of the colonial mentality that Pakistan suffers from.

Extractive institutions and patron client political economy, which have hampered Pakistan's political development, are also a result of colonial mindset. Empowered and autonomous institutions are essential for the progress of a nation. However, the colonists built and developed institutions with the sole aim of wealth extraction from their colonies. **Shashi Tharoor** in his book "**The Era of darkness: British Empire in India**" asserts that the British railroad was established to transport natural resources to ports for their shipment to Britain. In similar view, post-independence, the elite are using institutions to increase their personal wealth. These elites enjoy a firm grip on major institutions like the parliament and bureaucracy. The barriers to entry in these institutions are huge which make them inaccessible to common man. So, the extractive and exploitative nature of the political institutions is also a result of the colonial mentality that continues to stagnate Pakistan's political growth.

Feudalism- a major reason behind most of the woes of Pakistan- is yet another product of colonial legacy. In the colonial era, some men loyal to the British colonial masters were responsible for collecting revenue from the lands for the British. In return for their loyalty, these people were given large swathes of land. When Pakistan gained independence, this feudal class became ever so powerful. It was in the interest of this feudal class to further strengthen its power by maintaining the status quo. They made sure that nobody could challenge their power. To make matters worse, women were sapped of their rights and any women challenging the feudal lords were dealt with an iron hand. An example worth mentioning in this regard is that of Tehmina Durrani. She wrote a book titled "My Feudal Lord" whereby she narrates how feudalism is a major road-block in the way of Pakistan to realize prosperity. The feudal lords accentuate the plight of women, dominate Pakistan's politics and prevent the common people from entering politics. Hence, feudalism- which is a major predicament for Pakistan- is also a feudal legacy.

Moreover, getting embroiled in wars upon orders from the western countries is also a problem arising due to colonial mentality. Whenever the western powers in general and the US in particular wanted Pakistan to partner with them in any war, they enticed Pakistan with economic incentives. For instance, Pakistan got involved in the Afghan war in order to help the US drive USSR out of Afghanistan in return for monetary help. Similarly, General Pervez Musharraf partnered with the US in the war on terror. The erstwhile leaders- Zia and Musharraf respectively- justified these decisions stating that it was in the strategic interest of Pakistan to become party to these wars. However, this decision had a massive fallout for Pakistan since it sowed the seeds of extremism and sectarianism in Pakistan. There is no denying the fact that as a result of sectarianism and terrorism, Pakistan has paid a heavy price in terms of human casualties, infrastructural damage and the polarization of the society at large. Hence, simply getting involved in wars upon the US instructions without paying heed to the long term interests of Pakistan is an outcome of colonial mentality.

In addition to this, the blind imitation of the type and nature of western education also exhibits colonial mindset. Progressive education undoubtedly plays a pivotal role in the development of any nation. It is for this reason that education has been termed as an engine of growth as stipulated in the famous proverbial saying that the future of a nation is determined in its classrooms. However, resorting to isomorphic mimicry by simply adopting the western system of education without any regard to the local dynamics is a blunder. This is exactly what Pakistan has done with regards to the nature and purpose of education. For instance, the introduction of gender studies- while it is a welcome step- has been on the exact same pattern of the discipline being taught in western universities. This shows a perceived inferiority complex- lack of confidence to devise curriculum that is better than that of the west. Moreover, the purpose of education is simply to earn livelihood and serve the interests of the capitalist elite rather than to learn. It is commonly believed that the true essence of education is not to fill hollow vessels but to kindle a flame. However, as seen from the aforementioned

arguments, colonial mentality is a major contributory factor behind the dilapidated state of education in Pakistan.

Colonial mindset has also resulted in brain drain from Pakistan. In the colonial era, the idea that western education is superior in terms of reason and intellect was strongly propagated by the British. This mentality still prevails in Pakistan. Anyone who speaks English is believed by the society to be intellectual. This perception of English as the elite language is nothing but a manifestation of colonial mindset. Every year, scores of Pakistani students travel abroad to seek education from western universities such as Harvard, Yale, Oxford, McGill and the Imperial College of London to mention only a few. Moreover, thousands of people leave Pakistan to work abroad. While this is primarily done in the hope for a better lifestyle, it results in brain drain. For example, the top six destinations for Pakistani workers seeking employment abroad are Saudi Arabia, UAE, USA, the UK, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries and EU countries, with Saudi Arabia topping the list. So, brain drain, which has surfaced as a major problem for Pakistan, is also due to the colonial mindset.

Lastly, the weakening social fabric and culture of Pakistani society is also a product of colonial mentality. This mindset has caused social stagnation of the Pakistani society. The careful division of people into different castes based on their profession was properly codified by the British Empire during their rule over subcontinent. It was promoted by the British with the aim to maximize agricultural output, which in turn would maximize revenues for the empire. The regressive caste system judges the social standing of an individual based only on the family of his birth. The presence of this caste system as part and parcel of Pakistan's society is another evidence of Pakistan still clinging on to the colonial mentality. Moreover, this mentality has also resulted in the weakening of joint family system and eastern family values. While there are strong imprints of conservative caste system on elder generations, the younger generations are moving towards autonomous nuclear families. Although, the two approaches are contradictory, yet they are both a product of colonial mentality. These developments have weakened the social fabric of Pakistan's society, resulting in social Darwinism with

survival of the fittest and every man for himself. Individualism, as opposed to collectivism, is gaining acceptance. So, the socio-cultural stagnation of Pakistan is another by-product of the colonial mindset.

Having discussed how colonial mentality has impeded the progress of Pakistan in literally all walks of life, it is pertinent to discuss certain steps required for Pakistan to break the shackles of colonial mentality. Hence, the next few paragraphs will elucidate a framework, which when implemented, will help Pakistan in becoming truly independent.

Firstly, it is important for Pakistan to maintain institutional harmony. Independent and autonomous institutions hold the key to the political development of Pakistan. Hence, all political stakeholders must be on the same page to make the institutions- which are currently extractive- more transparent and inclusive. Such institutions will work for the collective good of the nation. Then, the media also needs to play a constructive role. Media has rightly been called the fourth pillar of a state since it helps shape public opinion. So, media needs to highlight how clinging on to this colonial mentality is potentially devastating for any society. Once, people realize this, they would make a conscious effort to tackle the inferiority complex that Pakistan is a victim of. Last but not least, a concerted effort aimed at a social revolution whereby the stranglehold of the feudal lords is broken is imperative to move away from the turbulent waters of colonial mindset. Pakistan needs to pursue the three aforementioned strands on a priority basis if the nation is to realize independence in the true sense of the word.

To conclude, it can be inferred that colonial mentality is indeed the single most important factor responsible for Pakistan's stagnated progress in the political, economic, social and cultural domains. This is a grave predicament since it leads to hopelessness for citizens in terms of realizing a better future. So, all stakeholders must seek to address this issue on a priority basis. This might seem like an uphill task but is by no means impossible. Constructive role of media in transforming people's mindset is the key to success.

CHAPTER

8

The Time We Live In Is The Winter Of The World

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction:**
Winters are characterized by gloominess and darkness. Since the contemporary times are full of events that reflect despair, destruction and gloominess, it is correct to draw a parallel of these times with winters.
- 2) **What The Phrase "Winter Of The World" Entails:**
- 3) **How The Time We Live In Is The Winter Of The World:**
 - 3.1) Population explosion- a huge burden on the already scarce resources
Case in point: By 2050, global population likely to reach 9.7 billion (World Economic Forum)
 - 3.2) Sky-rocketing poverty leading to reduced overall standard of living
Case in point: Over 3 billion people live on less than \$2.5 a day (UNICEF)
 - 3.3) Globalization as the new form of colonialism
Case in point: Core-Periphery debate
 - 3.4) Threat of a potentially devastating nuclear war looms large
Case in point: nuclear adventurism in South Asia
 - 3.5) Climate change poses an existential threat to humanity
Case in point: significant disruptions in earth's ecological, social and health systems (National geographic channel)
 - 3.6) Potential threat of civilizational clashes
Case in point: Samuel P. Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis and the growing islamophobia
 - 3.7) Abuse of technology has wreaked havoc on the society

Case in point: cyber-crimes; defamation through social media; diluted right to privacy; identity theft

3.8) World in the grips of economic turmoil

Case in point: US-China trade war

3.9) Rise of exclusive nationalism

Case in point: Plight of minorities in Modi-fied India

3.10) Wars and the ongoing refugee crisis

Case in point: More than 68 million people around the world displaced from their homes (Amnesty International)

4) **Reasons behind the Problems Facing the World**

- Eroding spirit of sacrifice leading to rise in individualism
- Changing world order and the resulting anarchy

5) **A Framework to Transition from winter to Spring- Making the World a Better Place to Live**

5.1) Democratizing the global institutions

5.2) Role of agents of socialization in teaching people the spirit of collectivism

5.3) Onus on world leaders to demonstrate caution and restraint

6) **Conclusion:**

The global society needs to collaborate and demonstrate the spirit of collectivism in order to realize stability and prosperity.

ESSAY

Winters are usually associated with darkness, despair, destruction and gloominess. This is analogous to the situation of the current world. The world today is plagued with problems like widespread poverty; population explosion; economic uncertainty; climate change; exclusive nationalism and the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The current state of world affairs, therefore, does not bode well for the future of humanity. This clearly depicts that the time we live in is indeed the winter of the world. Therefore, immediate steps- taking in to account these ground realities- need to be taken in order to convert this gloomy winter into a promising spring.

The essay will start off by giving a brief explanation of what the phrase "winter of the world" entails. Then, the focus of this discussion will shift to elucidating- with the aid of examples and illustrations- how the time we live in is the winter of the world. Finally, the discussion will be folded up by proposing a recipe to get rid of this unwanted winter.

As discussed earlier, winters depict a period characterized by hardships, sorrow, despair and gloominess. The current world order also portrays a similar picture. Rising violence, economic instability, climate change are a couple 'of contributory factors to the undesirable state of affairs in modern times. However, winters may be taken as a blessing in disguise. Harsh weather makes humans toil hard for survival. Similarly, hard times prepare a person for the worst. According to a famous proverb, when life throws you lemons, make lemonade, such trying circumstances must be dealt with through sheer resolve, perseverance and determination.

First and foremost, among a host of existential threats confronting the world, unchecked population growth is perhaps the most pressing. There is no denying the fact that a sufficient level of population constitutes the wealth of any nation. Moreover, this population provides the workforce to a nation thereby adding to the global GDP. However, when this level crosses the optimal mark, a huge burden is placed on the

scarce resources of the world. The natural resources are depleting at a tremendous rate and the existing infrastructure is unable to cope with the demands of the burgeoning population. According to the World Economic Forum (WEF), the global population is likely to rise to 9.7 billion. This staggering increase in the global population is an alarming situation since it would accelerate the process of depletion of the already scarce resources. Hence, the unabated population growth is indeed one major problem that needs to be dealt with on a priority basis.

In addition to this, sky-rocketing poverty is a grave problem faced by the contemporary society. As of now, nearly half of the global population - more than 3 billion people - live on less than \$2.5 a day. Nearly 1.3 billion people live in extreme poverty, which is characterized by an income less than \$1.25 a day. Similarly, millions of people lack access to clean drinking water and proper sanitation. Moreover, according to figures provided by the UNICEF, approximately 200 million children under the age of five have stunted growth. Poverty is a vicious cycle that retards the overall standard of living in a society. It is considered to be a breeding ground for various socio-economic ills in the society. Violence, illiteracy, drug abuse and street crime are some of the major fallouts of poverty. Hence, the fact that global poverty is on the rise shows that humans are indeed living in turbulent times.

Thirdly, neo-colonialism being pursued under the garb of globalization, is yet another problem facing the global society. With the creation of the United Nations, a massive wave of decolonization was started. This saw the emergence of various independent nations on the world map. However, this positive development was short lived. With the UN charter forbidding states from invading other territories, the former colonial masters began searching for new means to exert control over the relatively less powerful nations. The use of various instruments of globalization such as free trade and institutions of global governance are being leveraged by the western nations for their own advantage. Global North - a term used for industrially advanced and technologically

superior countries - is exploiting the resources of the global South, which comprises of under-developed states. The result is a continuous flow of wealth and resources from the latter to the former resulting in gross inequalities in the society. Hence, the accentuated anarchy, which is a result of neo-colonialism, has polarized the global society and is one of the major problems confronting the world at large.

Moving on, the threat of a potentially devastating nuclear war looms large in the wake of the ever growing nuclear arms race among nations. Nuclear weapons, owing to their destructive potential, are a grave threat to the peace and prosperity of the society. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki episode shows how lethal these weapons can be in terms of human casualties, infrastructural damage and environmental degradation. However, this important lesson has fallen on deaf ears. Some nations are involved in an extremely dangerous arms race. The nuclear adventurism in South Asia is a pertinent example in this regard. Pakistan and India are engaged in a fierce nuclear arms race without realizing that any miscalculation on the part of any nation could wipe out the entire region. Even the US, which claims to champion world peace, is in an arms race with Russia and China. Another reason why nuclear weapons could be extremely dangerous is the possibility of nuclear terrorism. If nuclear weapons accidentally fall in the hands of terrorists, the entire world would be on the brink of extinction. Hence, the threat of a nuclear holocaust also lends credence to the fact that the time we live in is indeed the winter of the world.

In addition to the nuclear factor, climate change is another major problem that confronts humanity. Climate change poses an existential threat to humanity since it is an irreversible phenomenon. As a result of global warming, considerable disruptions in the earth's ecological, social and health systems are occurring. Rise in the average global temperature; melting of glaciers; flooding of coastal areas; warming and acidification of oceans; erratic weather patterns and the destruction of various habitats are the major fallouts of climate change. This threat is even more lethal for certain countries. For

instance, Pakistan is the seventh most vulnerable nation to climate change. Different climate scientists have been warning nations of the extremely devastating consequences of climate change. However, with the US pull out from the Paris climate accord shows that the global community has fled rather than led the issue of global warming. Hence, climate change is one of the biggest threats facing the global society in contemporary times.

The threat of civilizational clashes is also threatening to become a reality. Samuel P. Huntington, in his famous essay titled "Clash of Civilizations" stipulated that the future would see ideological clashes. According to him, the defeat of USSR, and its subsequent dismemberment, at the hands of the US meant the triumph of the liberal capitalist ideology. According to Huntington, this would embolden the west to universalize the liberal ideology. He further stated that in the process, the western civilization would meet resistance from the Islamic civilization. Hence, the collaboration of the Sinic and Islamic civilizations would clash with the western civilization. The growing Islamophobia in the West- as manifest in the recent Christchurch attacks whereby an armed man shot several Muslims in a mosque in New Zealand- vindicates Huntington's claim to a certain extent. This is an extremely dangerous precedent since it would end up slowing down the process of globalization and would likely result in a lot of bloodshed. So, the possibility of civilizational clashes is yet another factor making the contemporary times quite dangerous and depressing.

Moreover, abuse of technology has wreaked havoc on the society. Technology is a blessing for the society and innovation lies at the heart of societal progress. However, if the products of technology are abused, they can prove to be disastrous for the society. For example, while the automation of workplace has made work easier and more convenient, its over-use has resulted in massive unemployment. Similarly, terrorists have used social media platforms to spread the extremist ideology. The list of the abuse of technology does not end here. Cybercrimes, identity theft and the compromised right

to privacy are some outcomes of the abuse of technology. History has, time and again, shown the world that constructive use of technology is a major blessing for the society; however, its abuse can be detrimental for the society. This important lesson has unfortunately been completely ignored by the society. So, the abuse of technology has also descended the society in to chaos.

The fact that the global society is witnessing an unprecedented level of economic turmoil also shows that the time we live in is the winter of the world. Liberalization of economy is- by and large- beneficial for the society. Economic liberalization advocates free trade, which is a major tool to boost the global GDP. On the other hand, mercantilism is characterized by extreme protectionist measures in the form of tariffs, quotas and embargos. Such protectionist measures are extremely bad for the society as witnessed in the events leading up to the Great Depression of the 1920s. Whenever, the superpowers are involved in trade wars, the global supply chain gets endangered and there is a grave risk of a global recession. This is exactly what the US and China are doing. In a move initiated by the US president, several tariffs were slapped on Chinese products coming in to the US thereby making these products less competitive in the US markets. In response, the Chinese imposed counter tariffs on the US products coming in to China. Unfortunately, this tit-for-tat game has gone from bad to worse. The situation has spiralled out of control to the extent that various IMF personnel opine that if the tension is not defused, another global financial crisis might be in the offing. Similarly, since Trump's ascendance to power, the US president has scrapped and revised various free trade deals. An example of this is the renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as the United States Mexico Canada Agreement (USMCA). Such moves have the potential to disrupt the entire global supply chain as a result of which the end customers end up bearing the major brunt in the form of increased prices and unemployment in several industries. So, the

economic chaos in the twenty-first century is a glaring example of how the global ship is in troubled waters.

In addition, the rise of right-wing nationalism in present times has accentuated the plight of minorities. Such exclusive nationalism views international as well as domestic politics in terms of the in and out group phenomenon. In the process, the rights of minorities are severely compromised. Rise of populist tendencies are manifest in Trump's rise to power, the Brexit episode and the proliferation of several right wing nationalist parties such as the Alternative for Germany and the France National Front. This has given birth to a global debate in different circles regarding the potential erosion of the liberal world order. As a result of the ever growing populist wave, several values enshrined in the liberal world order such as democracy, multilateralism, globalization and pluralism are under threat. It is ironic that the very architects of the liberal order are threatening to undo it. While this is extremely dangerous for the entire world at large, the situation is more worrisome for the minorities. A primary example in this regard is the brutality against the minorities living in India under Modi. Sikhs, Muslims and Christians see their rights being blatantly violated in India on almost a daily basis. So, the recent phenomenon of exclusive nationalism- being witnessed in the west in particular- has made the global politics extremely anarchic.

Lastly, the ongoing spate of wars- the fifth generation warfare in particular- has caused widespread chaos in the society. With the dawn of the twenty-first century, there was a transition from traditional wars to fifth generation warfare. This form of warfare is characterized by the use of various tactics such as proxy wars; cyber warfare; economic wars; psychological warfare and international defamation of rival states. These wars have caused a lot of losses to the society and the people living in war-torn regions have been deprived of their fundamental rights such as the right to life, right to fair trial, right to education and the right to employment to mention only a few. Moreover, the ongoing

violence in the Middle East and Africa has given a fresh impetus to the refugee crisis. Millions of people in areas like Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan have been forced to leave their homes and seek refuge elsewhere. In sum, wars and the resultant refugee crisis has brought the entire world on the brink of collapse.

There are various reasons that account for the plight of the contemporary world. With scarce resources, economic competition has intensified. This has given rise to individualism and the concept of every man for himself. The eroding spirit of sacrifice is a major reason behind the current sorry state of world affairs. Another major contributory factor is the changing global order. Rise of various centres of power such as India, China and Brazil is a signal of rising multi-polarity. This has made the world order more anarchic. Lastly, the rising wave of populism, as has already been discussed in this essay, also accounts for the problems facing the contemporary society.

From the aforementioned arguments, it becomes amply clear that there is a dire need to put in place the steps required to convert the winter like scenario in to a promising spring. The first step in this regard is to democratize the institutions of global governance in both letter and spirit. This would make these institutions more inclusive and transparent and thereby reduce the ever increasing anarchy in global political and economic affairs. Secondly, various agents of socialization such as media and education should shoulder the responsibility of teaching the masses how they need to shun individualism and rather demonstrate collectivism. Lastly, the world leaders also need to play a vibrant role in this regard. Leaders inspire masses through their conduct and teach them how to conduct their everyday lives. So, they need to learn from the mistakes of the past and join hands to create a more peaceful, prosperous and collaborative world order.

To conclude, it may safely be asserted that the time we live in is the winter of the world. This is a grave problem since it endangers the world peace and cultivates individualism and selfish tendencies in humans. Hence, the situation warrants immediate attention of the world to take collaborative action. They need to put in place a set of cogent remedies, which when implemented will lay the foundations of peace and prosperity. Doing so might seem like a difficult task but is by no means impossible. Democratizing global institutions and making the global leaders realize their responsibility in terms of setting a good example for the masses are the keys to success in this regard.

"Even the darkest night will end and the sun will rise"
(Victor Hugo)

CHAPTER

9

Gender Equality Is A Myth

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

A cursory glance at the international arena reveals that women, unfortunately, continue to be the most disadvantaged, suppressed and subjugated segment of society in all walks of life. Hence, despite some efforts to empower women globally, gender equality - by and large- remains an elusive dream.

2) Different Strands of Gender Equality:

- equality in the political domain
- equality in the social domain
- equality in the economic domain

3) How Gender Equality Is A Myth?

3.1) Unequal employment opportunities

Case in point: female labor force participation rate of 48% versus the male labor force participation rate of 74.8% (World Bank)

3.2) Highly engendered system of wages- skewed in favor of men- leading to feminization of poverty

Case in point: Women earn 25% less than men -on average- for the same work

3.3) Women still subjected to sexual harassment

Case in point: Around 90% women reportedly face harassment at some point in time (colorado.edu)

3.4) Gender based violence still quite pronounced in the society

Cases in point: Almost 1 out of 4 women faces gender based violence worldwide (dosomething.org)

Case study of Mukhtaran Mai

ESSAY

Dawn of the twenty-first century saw a renewed intensity in the efforts aimed at empowering women. Feminists along with the United Nations worked tirelessly for breaking the shackles of gender equality. Even the academic circles began contemplating new means to promote gender studies as an academic discipline as means to increase awareness regarding the importance of gender equality. However, all these efforts were met with limited progress. A cursory glance at the international arena reveals that women, unfortunately, continue to be the most disadvantaged, suppressed and subjugated segment of society in all walks of life. Hence, despite some efforts to empower women globally, gender equality - by and large - remains an elusive dream. So, it is imperative for all nations to keep striving in order to realize the dream of gender equality. In the words of Muhammad Ali Jinnah:

"No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live."

Before elucidating how gender equality is still a myth, it is important to first discuss what the term gender equality entails. According to UNICEF, gender equality implies that men and women and boys and girls enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities and protection. The first strand of gender equality is equality in the economic domain. This implies equal pay for equal work, equal job opportunities for both genders and a safe working environment for everyone. Equality in the social domain calls for equal role of women in decision making and the elimination of heinous crimes such as gender based violence against women. The last strand is equality in the political domain, which refers to no gender based discrimination in terms of appointing heads of state and women parliamentarians. Hence, gender equality is an all encompassing term.

3.5) Highly engendered health and education systems putting women at a considerable disadvantage

Case in point: Global literacy rate of 89 percent versus female literacy rate of 82 percent

3.6) Gender stereotypes limit the space for women in the social domain

Case in point: the 'cult of domesticity' argument

3.7) Women are disadvantaged in the political domain

Case in point: very few women heads of state (PEW Research Report)

3.8) Austerity measures primarily harm women interests

Case in point: Case Study of Tanzania

4) **Some Efforts to Reduce Gender Equality:**

- Four UN conferences on women
- Feminist efforts

5) **A Framework to Break the Shackles of Gender Equality:**

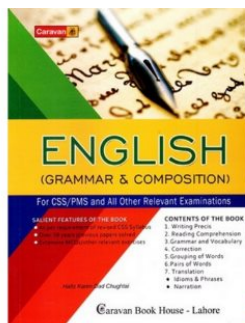
- 5.1) Promotion of gender studies as an academic discipline
- 5.2) Constructive role of media in breaking gender stereotypes
- 5.3) Implementation of pro women laws in both letter and spirit

6) **Conclusion:**

Without breaking the shackles of gender inequality, it is impossible to realize long term prosperity of the society.

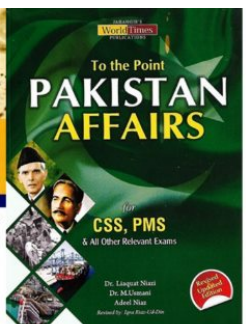
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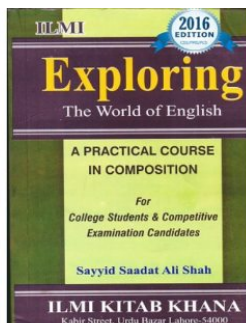
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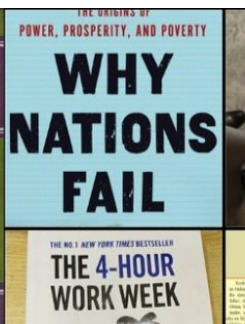
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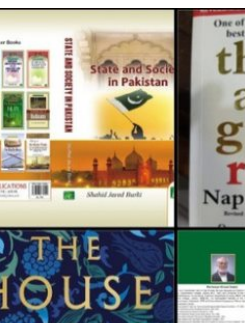
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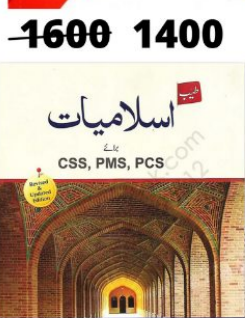
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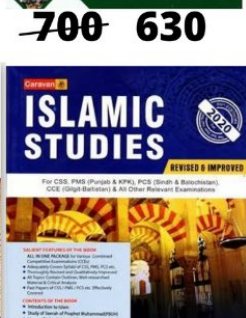
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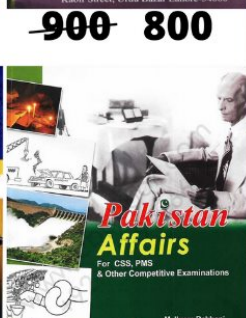
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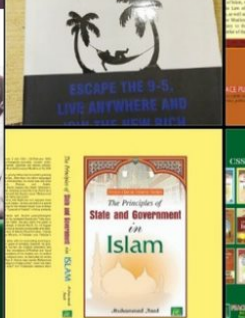
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Having discussed what the term gender equality entails, it is imperative to deep-dive in to how the global ship is far away from realizing the dream of gender equality. Hence, the next few paragraphs will be devoted to elucidating- with the aid of examples and illustrations- how the society is still suffering from gender inequality in literally all domains of life.

First and foremost, women get far less employment opportunities as compared to men. Women and men were created as equals and they both equally shape the society in their own respective ways. So, sanity would demand women to have equal access to resources and employment opportunities. This is exactly what feminists demand as well. However, an analysis of major workplaces reveals that women have extremely limited work opportunities when compared to men. For instance, according to the World Bank, the female labor force participation rate of 48 percent is extremely little as compared to the male labor force participation rate of 74.8 percent. The situation is even worse in developing countries. Moreover, women have extremely narrow access to financial services such as loans and micro-financing opportunities. This is an alarming situation that shows how women suffer heavily in terms of economic opportunities.

Moreover, highly engendered system of wages has also added to the women plight. This system is skewed in the favor of men. Men and women do the same amount of work and put in the same amount of effort as well. However, men get paid a lot more than their women counterparts for the same amount of work. This is an extremely unfair practice. According to various estimates, women are paid twenty five percent less as compared to men for the same amount of work. Moreover, companies continue to violate the maternity leave policies as well. Either the company management does not pay women their salaries or they ask women to resign when the latter return to the job after the end of their maternity leaves. This is extremely demotivating for women and results in the feminization of poverty- a phenomenon that refers to women being the most poor segment of society. Hence, wage differentials on the basis of gender are another manifestation of gender equality.

The fact that women are subjected to sexual harassment is another reason for one to believe that gender equality is a myth. Sexual harassment is a grave social evil. It not only undermines the worth of women as individuals but also sets a bad precedent for the future generations. Yet, it is a pity that sexual harassment is a common occurrence in the world of today. Women continue to be the victims of harassment in their offices, in public spaces and even at recreational events. According to colorado.edu, around ninety percent of women worldwide have fallen prey to such grave instances of harassment. Out of these cases, the majority go unreported. However, the fact that several women are victims of this inhumane practice shows that gender inequality is a huge problem for the contemporary society.

Moving on, gender based violence is still quite pronounced in the society. Gender based violence refers to a broad set of aggressive tactics targeted primarily against women. The tactics used by perpetrators include arm-twisting, slapping, emotional abuse as well as verbal abuse. Various examples of gender based violence can be scooped from across the globe. The gang rape of Mukhtaran Mai is worth quoting here. In order to settle a feud, Mai was used as compensatory chattel. This paved the way for the gang rape of Mukhtaran Mai. Similarly, Tehmina Durrani, in her book, My Feudal Lord, gives an account of how feudal lords deliberately subjugate women in order to cling on to power. Hence, gender based violence is another manifestation of the growing gender inequality in the society.

Highly engendered health and education systems have also put women at a considerable disadvantage. Health and education are considered the chief necessities of life. It is for this reason that these two are the essential pillars of any society. However, women are at a significant disadvantage when it comes to access to health and education both. Women, the world over, continue to suffer from health issues such as anemia, cancer, and other reproductive issues. The situation is no better on the educational front. Global literacy rate of eighty nine percent versus female literacy rate of eighty two percent is a glaring example in this regard. In countries like Pakistan, the

engendered system of education is even more pronounced. Malala Yusufzai, a young girl aspiring to seek knowledge, was gunshot to the head by Taliban. So, gender based inequalities in the health and education sectors are also a common sight.

In addition to this, gender stereotypes limit the space for women in the social domain. Women are more likely to be subdued by traditions, customs, and some religious practices. In highly conservative societies, women are unfortunately thought of as liabilities. Hence, the birth of a baby boy is cherished while that of a baby girl is frowned upon. Moreover, in some societies, discriminative practices such as marriage with Quran, acid attacks, dowry practices and female genital mutilation occur quite frequently. Quite often, women are not accorded any say in decision-making due to the false perception that women are emotionally volatile. Similarly, women education is discouraged on grounds that women would be married and hence there is no point in investing in their education. Lastly, women are not given their due inheritance share. All these factors combined show that women fall prey to the cult of domesticity. So, gender stereotypes also show how gender inequality is at play in the society.

Even on the political front, women continue to be discriminated against. This is not something that only happens in third world countries. Even the first world countries face the problem. Women are not given due importance when it comes to their inclusion in the legislature. In countries where there are quotas reserved for women, critics undermine such quotas on grounds that political quotas violate the principle of meritocracy. Moving on, in highly conservative societies, women are not even allowed to vote. An example that helps depict the bleak situation is the fact that there are very few women heads of state. Even the United States of America, a country that claims to be a champion of human rights, is yet to see a woman head of state. Therefore, women become victims of gender equality even in terms of political participation.

Even the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are more harmful for women than they are for men. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) helps countries avert a

potential balance of payment crisis by giving them loans. These loans, however, accompany a conditionality clause, which dictates the recipient governments to take certain steps. Some of these steps are reduced government spending; increased taxation; rationalized power tariffs; and a completely de-regulated economy. When it comes to cutting government spending, most countries usually cut funds from the money reserved for women welfare. An example of Tanzania comes to mind in this regard. In early 1990s, the country received a loan from IMF in an attempt to deal with an otherwise imminent balance of payment crisis. This led to the government to cut back on social spending. The same year saw the country's maternal mortality rate nearly double. So, even the conditions associated with loans unevenly impact genders with women bearing the major brunt of such loans.

Keeping in mind the fact that gender inequality is unfortunately a global phenomenon, the global community has taken certain steps to tackle the situation head on. The efforts of United Nations are of paramount importance in this regard. The global body took upon itself the task to promote gender equality and empower women. Hence, the UN organized four world conferences on women aimed at addressing the root causes that were preventing women from taking a more active and productive role in the society. These conferences were extremely helpful in terms of increasing awareness and hence ameliorating the plight of women. Then, efforts of feminists can also not be discounted. The recent #MeToo campaign is a primary case in point. In contemporary times, feminists are increasingly becoming vocal about women rights. The world community needs to build on the efforts of these feminists if it is to realize the dream of gender equality.

Now that it has been established that gender equality, even in the twenty first century, is an elusive dream, it becomes imperative to propose certain steps that would go about solving the problem of gender equality. Hence, the next section of this essay will give a recipe to address this issue.

A cogent first step in order to ameliorate the plight of women is to promote gender studies as an academic discipline. Education is considered to be an important agent of socialization. It teaches masses the differentiation between the right and wrong and also teaches them how to live as productive members of the society. So, if the discipline of gender studies is promoted, awareness regarding the importance of gender equality will slowly but gradually be brought about in the society.

Constructive role of media is also extremely important in this regard. Media has rightly been termed as the fourth pillar of any state since it helps shape public opinion. So, media must preach the importance of gender equality to the masses. An innovative way to do this would be to make documentaries regarding nations that have become successful owing to enacting pro women policies. Hence, media needs to take the lead in terms of ushering in a culture of gender equality in all countries.

Last but not the least, implementation of pro-women laws is also extremely important in this regard. It is commonly believed that it is not the intensity of the punishment but the certainty that yields the desired result. So, pro women laws, if implemented in both letter and spirit, will give a major boost to efforts aimed at cultivating a culture of gender equality.

In conclusion, it can be stated that gender equality is unfortunately still a distant dream. This is a major loss for the entire world since gender inequality hampers the world from realizing its true potential. There is, hence, a dire need for the world to take adequate steps in order to break the shackles of gender inequality. Promotion of gender studies and implementation of pro women policies can certainly make the dream of gender equality realizable.

CHAPTER 10

Threat of Global Warming And Ways To Counter It

OUTLINE

Introduction:

1) The devastating consequences of global warming- such as increasing global temperature, erratic climatic pattern and disrupting of various habitats- pose an existential threat to humanity. This calls upon the global community to put in place the measures required to tackle the menace.

2) A Brief Overview of Global Warming:

3) How Global Warming Poses A Threat to Humanity?

3.1) Danger of water scarcity

Case in point: Pakistan likely to become water scarce by 2050- World Bank

3.2) Destructive floods and storms along with changing climatic patterns becoming a global phenomenon

Case in point: Hurricane Katrina and Irma

3.3) Food shortages in different regions due to droughts

Case in point: Humanitarian crisis in Chad, Somalia, and South Sudan

3.4) Increased migration in developed countries

Case in point: huge influx of refugees in Italy and Spain from Africa

3.5) Disruption of environmental habitat due to migration of birds and animals to cooler regions

Case in point: migration of various fish from the Indian Ocean

3.6) Climate change induced global epidemics

Case in point: cholera and dehydration

4) Case Studies:

- Rising Sea Levels in Maldives
- Heat Waves in Sindh, Pakistan

- 5) **A Strategy to Counter Global Warming:**
- 5.1) Promoting the use of renewable energy sources and the conservation of energy
 - 5.2) Implementing the Paris Climate Accord in letter and spirit
 - 5.3) Large scale forestation and reforestation campaign
 - 5.4) Provision of food and economic assistance to drought ridden countries
 - 5.5) Population control
- 6) **Conclusion:**
Global warming poses a grave threat to humanity and therefore must be tackled on a priority basis in order to preserve the planet Earth.

ESSAY

"There is one issue that will define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other, and that is the urgent threat of a changing climate." (Barack Obama)

Global warming is a grave reality! It is indeed a reality that poses an existential threat to humanity. The industrial revolution and technological advancement brought about immense changes in the productivity of the world. However, this came at a cost. Industrial pollutants and environmentally unfriendly gases have wreaked havoc on the society. Rising global average temperature is an alarming situation since it leads to melting of glaciers thereby resulting in floods and reduced fresh water availability. Moreover, changes in climatic patterns and threats posed to various habitats are a cause for concern. This is an alarming situation that warrants immediate attention of the international community. All these problems manifest that global warming is a common threat to all of humanity. Hence, the global society needs to stand united and cooperate on social, political, economic and technological fronts. A comprehensive strategy aimed at tackling the issue of climate change is the only way forward to steer the global ship out of troubled waters.

This essay will first shed some light on what the concept of global warming is. Once this is done, the essay will move on to elucidating how global warming poses an existential threat to humanity. The essay will eventually be concluded by proposing a set of remedies required to tackle the issue of global warming head on.

In simple terms, global warming refers to an increase in the average global temperature above that of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the scientists, the global temperature rose by 1.5 degrees in the twentieth century and if not checked, it will surpass three degrees by 2050. The global community has tried to address the issue through different conventions and pacts such as the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Climate Agreement. However, there has been little success in this

regard. However, with the effects of climate change becoming more pronounced over time, it is becoming the biggest challenge for the global community.

First and foremost, rising temperature has caused glacial melting and has resulted in reduced fresh water availability. Water is a basic necessity of life. Glaciers are the main source of fresh water supply for many countries but over the years, they have started to melt at a rapid pace. This is attributable to the ever increasing global temperature. Pakistan is a pertinent example of a nation that is facing a water crisis. The country had huge glaciers in its northern areas but due to global warming, they have shrunk to a high degree. It is for this reason that the World Bank predicts Pakistan to become a water scarce country by the year 2050. The situation is no better in other regions like Nepal, Argentina and even Antarctica. In addition, the reduced water availability can also morph in to a war like situation in regions where water sharing is already a thorny issue. India and Pakistan are two countries that have various issues related to water. Thus, global warming is likely to reduce fresh water, which is a must in order to sustain human life.

Moreover, the rising sea levels cause floods, storms and hurricanes that destroy indiscriminately. The melting of glaciers causes floods in various regions of the world. The coastal regions, in particular, are more prone to such flooding. When the sea level rises significantly, it causes floods and storms. In addition, certain events like the hurricane Katrina and Irma have also unleashed themselves in North America and the Caribbean. Such catastrophes have wreaked havoc on countries like Mexico, Cuba and El Salvador. Hence, the flooding of coastal regions along with increased frequency of extreme climatic events show how big a threat climate change has become.

Similarly, droughts are also caused in different regions of the world due to increasing temperatures. Droughts make the soil infertile and people find it difficult to provide for themselves. The changing duration and nature of different seasons also impacts the sowing and harvesting seasons. As a result of this, various crops are destroyed. Some farmers quit farming altogether as well. The biggest example is the African region where

countries like South Sudan, Chad and Somalia are facing a humanitarian crisis due to food shortages. Even in Pakistan, the Thar region is under drought for many years. This clearly depicts that global warming has the potential to starve the entire humanity.

Moving on, global warming may displace a large number of people from the climate vulnerable countries to other areas thereby resulting in a refugee crisis. People living in drought ridden areas seek shelter in the developed world for survival. The huge influx of refugee's puts burden on the latter's economy. This in turn gives rise to a host of social problems such as the emergence of slums and squatter settlements. It also causes a spike in crime rate. Recently, people from Somalia have migrated to Italy and other European countries in the search of better living conditions. These countries are under immense pressure from their citizens to control refugee inflows. The situation shows that global warming also causes problems for countries that are not directly affected by it.

Global warming also causes the migration of many animals and birds that are essential for maintaining a natural habitat. Nature has reserved special functions for every organism: insects eat harmful worms while birds provide nectar to flowers. This delicate balance is what the life thrives on. However, global warming has caused some organisms to migrate to cooler environments. This has created a disequilibrium in the environment. A case study of fish species in the Indian Ocean is worth mentioning in this regard. In 2010, it was reported that numerous fish had already left the Indian Ocean and migrated to the Antarctica. Another pertinent example in this regard is that of the Arctic polar bear. The World Wildlife Fund has declared these bears to be a threatened species. If temperatures continue to increase, these beautiful creatures will become extinct in no time. Thus, the disruption of environmental habitat due to migration of living organisms is yet another threat posed by global warming.

Lastly, changes in climate could also be a source of health problems. In periods of high precipitation and flooding, water borne diseases like cholera can spread quickly. Similarly, such environments also serve as potential breeding grounds for mosquito-

borne diseases. Humans, especially children, have vulnerable immune systems and therefore are likely to fall prey to such diseases. At the extreme end of the spectrum, climate change can also be a source of dryness caused by soaring temperatures. Phenomena like heat waves can be difficult for human bodies to resist. In extreme circumstances, heat waves can also kill people due to excessive and extreme dehydration. So, people's health is also in danger due to global warming.

In light of the issue under discussion, it is imperative to analyze some case studies that depict how climate change is affecting the world in contemporary times. The foremost example is of the danger posed to the flattest country on earth- the Maldives. Situated in the Indian Ocean, eighty percent of Maldives' land lies only one meter above the sea level. Scientists are estimating that if the global temperature continues to rise, the rising sea level will eventually engulf the entire island. Similarly, example of heat wave in Sindh in the recent past is yet another example that comes to mind while discussing the pitfalls of climate change. There is no denying the fact that the country has hot summers. However, the summers of 2015 were characterized by scorching heat which was unbearable. According to a report published by BBC, around eight hundred casualties were reported as a result of this heat wave. Environmentalists analyzed the event and reported a rise in the summer heat index. According to them, global warming drastically altered the temperature leading to extreme dryness in land as well as air. From the aforementioned case studies, it becomes amply clear that global warming is a reality, which is not tackled, can wipe out the entire humanity.

The preceding section of this essay showed how global warming is a major threat to humanity. It is now pertinent to shed some light on some remedies required to tackle the menace of climate change. Hence, the next few paragraphs will be devoted to proposing a framework to make the international community better equipped in terms of dealing with climate change.

In the fight against global warming, it is imperative to first make a transition towards renewable sources of energy. Coal, oil and gas are some examples of non-renewable

energy sources. These sources release pollutants in the environment and are lethal as far as climate is concerned. Hence, using renewable sources- such as wind, water and solar energy- are sustainable methods that do not pollute the environments. Denmark, for instance, is utilizing its natural wind corridors to set up wind turbines as means to generate energy from wind. In addition to this, conservation of energy through power saving technology in vehicles, appliances, and businesses can increase efficiency and prove to be a good way of changing lifestyle from pollution intensive ways to cleaner ways.

Implementing the Paris Climate Accord in letter and spirit is another key step in fighting global warming. The agreement was signed by one hundred and ninety countries and aims to limit the emissions of carbon dioxide to bring the global temperature down. The world community can unite under the banner of United Nations and make appropriate policies for implementing the agreement. It will need significant investments in the developing countries to make their industries environmentally friendly. The developed countries should contribute generously in the UN climate change fund to bring about the technological changes for limiting the global temperature.

The world also need to kick start a major global reforestation campaign. Trees and greenery have rightly been termed as major carbon sinks. They soak in carbon emissions and therefore prevent the warming up of the earth. Hence, individual countries should discharge their responsibility in this regard. For every tree cut, multiple trees must be planted. This will keep the intricate eco-system and the climate in harmony and balance. However, the international community seems to be indifferent in this regard. Burning of the Amazon forest is a primary example in this regard. Amazon forests are called the lungs of the earth since they account for roughly twenty percent of the global oxygen levels. However, the fact that these forests are burning is a situation that warrants immediate attention.

In addition, the global community should provide economic assistance to countries facing drought. This will reduce the migration of people from climate vulnerable regions. Different countries can unite under the aegis of the United Nations and pool in their respective resources in order to help the high risk regions. Moreover, the countries must also share expertise and technology for disaster management with the ones most affected by global warming. Floods and storms destroy the infrastructure of any country that falls prey to them. For low income countries, it is extremely difficult to deal with this situation on their own. Hence, onus is on the developed countries to provide the developing countries the requisite man-power, training and technology so that the losses and damages could be minimized. A pertinent example is the help provided by Canada to Pakistan following the floods of 2010. Other countries must also emulate Canada in terms of helping their poorer counterparts.

Lastly, it is imperative for the world to control population in order to boost the global efforts to rid the world of the menace of climate change. All efforts are incomplete if they do not go hand in hand with the realization that we must not over burden the resources of the earth. This is only possible if countries realize that population control reforms and policies are the most effective way of reducing consumption.

To conclude, it can safely be stated that global warming is a major threat to humanity. This is a grave situation since if kept unchecked, climate change can prove to be detrimental for the society. In fact, it has the potential to destroy the entire planet. The situation warrants immediate attention on part of different stakeholders. It is a crying need of the hour for the global community to implement the Paris Climate Accord and make a transition towards renewable sources of energy. Doing so would certainly be a welcome step in terms of tackling climate change.

"Climate change is a collective endeavor, it is collective accountability and it may not be too late." (Christine Lagarde)

CHAPTER 11

Cooperation, Not Competition, Would Lead The World Towards Peace And Prosperity

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction**
A cursory glance at the world history shows that competition leads the world towards war and misery. Cooperation, on the other hand, ensures that the spirit of collectivism takes precedence over individualism and hence steers humanity towards peace and prosperity.
- 2) **Current Situation of the World Vis-a-Vis Peace and Prosperity:**
- 3) **How Cooperation And Not Competition Would Lead The World Towards Peace and Prosperity:**
 - 3.1) Transnational nature of modern conflicts requires combined efforts of different nations
Case in point: The Syrian Crisis and the transnational alliance
 - 3.2) Negotiations instead of force can resolve mutual disputes
Case in point: Twenty year old border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea resolved through negotiations
 - 3.3) Cyber warfare cannot be controlled by competing with others in cyber space; rather, a universally coordinated strategy is required
Case in Point: Cyber-attack on the health system of UK
 - 3.4) Developing world cannot overcome natural disasters without the assistance of the international community
Case in point: Years long famine in South Sudan controlled through the efforts of UN
 - 3.5) True trade potential can be realized by opening borders rather than closing them
Cases in point: US China trade war and the Indo-Pak case study

ESSAY

- 3.6) Assistance of underdeveloped countries in technological development needed for world prosperity
Case in point: Rich mines in Congo but lack of technology to extract them
- 3.7) Dream of a nuclear free world can't be realized unless states cooperate in the nuclear domain through diplomatic channels
Case in point: nuclear adventurism in South Asia
- 3.8) Climate change- an existential threat- requires global cooperation
Case in point: US' withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accord
- 3.9) Terrorism- a trans-national phenomenon- needs to be tackled through a global response
- 4) **Way Forward: Ensuring Cooperation for Peace and Prosperity:**
- 4.1) Responsibility of the UN and other international organizations
- 4.2) Constructive role of media in highlighting the importance of cooperation
- 4.3) Onus on individual nations
- 5) **Conclusion:**
 Competition would take humanity towards destruction; cooperation is therefore a must in order to realize peace and prosperity.

A century ago, at the end of world war one, Woodrow Wilson proclaimed that the menace of war and misery that the erstwhile society was witnessing was a result of isolation and competition among nations. His statement resonates with the situation in the contemporary world. The world today is in grips of a host of socio economic problems including but not limited to armed conflicts; terrorism; climate change; economic turmoil; refugee crisis and nuclear adventurism. These problems have spelt disaster for world peace and prosperity. In light of this, cooperation and mutual assistance in all walks of life on part of the global community is the only way to propel the society towards peace and prosperity. Unfortunately, some countries are increasingly looking to adopt competitive policies of protectionism and isolation as means to guard their parochial interests. These nations seem to have turned a blind eye to the lessons of history. A cursory glance at the world history shows that competition leads the world towards war and misery. Cooperation, on the other hand, ensures that the spirit of collectivism takes precedence over individualism and hence steers humanity towards peace and prosperity. In the words of **Bertrand Russel**:

"The only thing that will redeem mankind is cooperation"

At the outset, it has been established that only cooperation and not competition can lead the world towards peace and prosperity. The next section of this essay will de-code what the terms competition and cooperation entail through an analysis of the current world situation. Moving on, the essay will elucidate- with the aid of examples- how cooperation holds the key to world peace and prosperity. Eventually, the discussion will be folded up by proposing a framework to usher a culture of cooperation.

Competition refers to a continuous struggle aimed at the pursuance of individual interests. Cooperation on the other hand refers to collaborative efforts in order to find meaningful solutions to a host of problems. Unfortunately, the current picture of the world is bleak vis-a-vis peace and prosperity. Whether it is Syria, Yemen, Kashmir or

Palestine, people are suffering due to war and violence. Still, other countries are struggling in economic terms. Famine is rampant in Africa, Asia and some regions of South America. Other problems haunting the contemporary society are terrorism and cyber warfare. This clearly depicts that peace and prosperity are still distant dreams in the wake of an ever increasing competition among different nations.

Firstly, the transnational nature of modern conflicts requires combined efforts of different nations rather than isolated attacks on the enemy. The present era is termed as the age of globalization as characterized by the free flow of people, goods, capital and technology. Therefore, it becomes extremely difficult for a nation to destroy its enemy. The Syrian conflict is one such example. The conflict started off as a civil war with a chunk of the Syrian population fighting against the regime of Bashar-ul-Assad in an attempt to bring about democracy in Syria. However, with the passage of time, the conflict transformed in to a proxy battleground. A deep dive in to the conflict shows that various powers such as Russia, US, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iran are all engaged in a bid to pursue their respective strategic goals and objectives. This has given birth to intense competition among these powers and has further exacerbated the plight of the Syrians. Scores of people have died and huge amounts of infrastructure have been destroyed. This clearly underscores an important lesson: cooperation, instead of competition, is required by the global community in order to put an end to such transnational disputes.

Similarly, mutual disputes can be resolved by cooperative negotiations instead of the use of force. As enshrined in Article 33 of the UN charter, states must resort to the peaceful resolution of disputes in order to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. Use of force as means to resolve disputes is illegal according to the charter. Competition and the use of force only aggravates the situation and takes the conflict to a point of no return. Hence, common sense would say that in the contemporary system, it is imperative to resort to diplomatic channels for the resolution of disputes. An example worth mentioning in this regard is the case study of

Eritrea and Ethiopia. In 1950s, US and Britain gave Eritrea to Ethiopia as reward for their support in world war two. Hence began a long dispute regarding border arrangements. The long standing conflict that saw the death of around three hundred thousand people was eventually resolved through a collaborative arrangement in 2018. This case study of Ethiopia and Eritrea manifests that cooperation is the only way forward in terms of realizing global peace.

Moreover, no nation can protect its cyber-space by competing with others. Rather, a universal coordinated strategy is needed to control cyber warfare. The internet knows no borders- it cannot be regulated by national laws. A country, with digitalized infrastructure, is vulnerable in the face of cyber-attacks. The attack may originate in one corner of the world and might affect the country in another corner. Thus, mutual assistance is necessary to control cyber space and maintain world peace. A case worth mentioning in this regard is that of a cyber-attack on the health system of UK. A couple of years ago, the UK health system was attacked by cyber terrorists. This led to the encryption of patient records rendering the patient data un-readable. It crippled the entire system, disrupted the process of treating individuals and caused distress to the whole country. Similar cyber-attacks were seen on the telephonic system of Spain as well as on different systems in Japan, Turkey, Philippines and the Fed-Ex in the United States of America. The varied nature and scope of cyber warfare shows how this threat can only be dealt with through cooperation of the world community.

Furthermore, the countries lack resources and expertise to eradicate famine and drought without international assistance. Climate change and lack of industrial development have left the developing world vulnerable to natural calamities such as droughts. It is not possible for such nations to protect their citizens from hunger and famine. Only cooperation from the developed world can bring prosperity to these nations. The famine in South Sudan has been around for the last three years but recently, the assistance of UN has reduced its intensity. This is one of the many examples that show how cooperation is vital for prosperity of the global community.

In addition, trade is essential for global prosperity and its true potential can be realized by cooperating rather than closing borders. Gone are the days when military might was the sole criterion to gauge a nation's power. The contemporary era is now characterized as the age of geo-economics. Hence, economic prosperity has become a major ingredient of the well-being of the entire world. This prosperity is, however, not possible if nations close their borders to the products flowing in from other countries since this will be have counter moves. The US China trade war deserves mention here. In a tit for tat move, both countries have slapped tariffs on each other. This however has had global repercussions since it has disrupted the global supply chain. Hence, this case study clearly shows how competition is antithetical to peace. Moreover, according to IMF, the trade potential between India and Pakistan is at dollar twenty five billion but currently, their trade volume is just nine billion dollars. Hence, cooperation is needed for prosperity as there is a lot of trade potential in the world.

Moving on, underdeveloped countries cannot prosper without the technological assistance of the international community. Many countries are rich in natural resources but lack the requisite expertise and technology to exploit them. Such countries become a burden for the rest of the world since as people from these countries migrate to other prosperous regions. This results in a refugee crisis. However, if they are assisted in the development of their industry, people will no longer need to migrate to foreign lands. The example of the Democratic Republic of Congo is pertinent in this regard. The country has rich deposits of gold and copper but lacks the technology to exploit these minerals. With help from other countries, Congo could easily exploit these minerals and this would go a long way in terms of enhancing the overall quality of life. Hence, this case study proves how it is cooperation and not competition that leads the world towards prosperity.

Also, the dream of a nuclear free world cannot be realized unless states cooperate in the nuclear domain through diplomatic channels. Nuclear weapons are lethal for the global peace and prosperity. The destructive potential of these weapons was witnessed in the

Hiroshima and Nagasaki episode. The incident killed everyone living in the vicinity of the targeted areas and sent extremely dangerous radiations in the environment. This should have convinced the global community to work together in order to realize a nuclear free world. However, several examples can be scooped from across the globe that show how nations are competing in the nuclear arena as well. The nuclear adventurism in South Asia is a cogent example- the two South Asian arch-rivals India and Pakistan are engaged in a fierce competition to enhance their respective strategic capabilities. It is for this reason that various experts have declared South Asia as a major nuclear flashpoint. The situation prevalent between Russia and the United States of America is no better. These nations have also backtracked on their commitment to realize a nuclear free world. Scrambling of the INF treaty is a case in point. Hence, in order to realize lasting peace by ridding the world of potentially devastating nuclear weapons is only possible through cooperation not competition.

Climate change, which poses an existential threat to humanity, also requires a global response. Climate change knows no boundaries. Hence, countries that might not have contributed to global warming are also under threat from climate change. Increase in the average global temperature is already melting glaciers and flooding the coastal and low lying regions. Disrupted fresh water availability and endangered habitats are other pitfalls of climate change. This threat can potentially wipe out the entire globe. Yet, the international community is not cooperating in this regard. The result is an ever increasing average global temperature and extreme climatic events such as hurricanes, cyclones and droughts. Yet, it is ironic that the US president Donald Trump pulled out of the Paris Climate Accord. Various climate experts and world leaders have reiterated, time and again, that climate change can only be tackled through collaborative efforts of the international community.

Lastly, terrorism- a trans-national phenomenon- needs to be tackled through a global response. Terrorism is perhaps the biggest threat facing humanity in contemporary

times. Various terrorist outfits such as Al-Qaeda and Taliban have endangered world peace. Following the attack on the world trade centre in 2001, US launched a war against terror. As the war progressed, terrorism became a transnational phenomenon. In the years that followed, terrorists have killed scores of innocent people and have destroyed infrastructure as well. More recently, the threat of nuclear terrorism has also become quite pronounced. If nuclear weapons fall in the hands of terrorists even by accident, they would not shy away from using them and thereby destroying humanity within a couple of minutes. Hence, this transnational nature of terrorism requires cooperative efforts by the international community in order for it to be rooted out.

So far, it has been fairly established that cooperation is vital for world peace and prosperity. The final part of this essay will present some recommendations to ensure cooperation among nations to collectively tackle the most pressing global issues and hence maintain international peace and prosperity.

Firstly, it is the responsibility of the United Nations and other global and regional organizations such as the World Bank, OIC and the European Union to urge cooperation among member states. The world order is held intact with the assistance of such organizations. They need to assist members in resolving disputes and conflicts through cooperation. These institutions also provide an ideal platform to member states for raising their concerns so that there is no injustice with any particular nation.

Similarly, media needs to play a vibrant role in terms of highlighting the importance of cooperation. Media has rightly been called the fourth pillar of a state since it helps in shaping public opinion. So, media should facilitate cooperation rather than becoming a source of competition among nations. Doing so would go a long way in disseminating views supporting cooperation as means to realize world peace and prosperity.

Finally, onus is on individual nations as well to tame their ambitions and cooperate with one another for realizing world peace and prosperity. The demagoguery of one leader

can disturb the peace of the entire world. It is therefore vital for governments to keep their rhetoric and powers in check so that parochial interests do not override the cooperative spirit.

To conclude, it can safely be stated that cooperation, not competition, can lead the world towards peace and prosperity. Although the situation of the world is quite bleak with widespread conflicts and natural calamities, it is nothing that cannot be overpowered. A universal cooperative approach is needed to tackle the economic, military and technological challenges faced by the world. Once the global ship embraces cooperation, there will certainly be peace and prosperity in the society.

CHAPTER

12

Higher Education in Pakistan: Ills and Remedies

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction:**
Negligence of higher education in Pakistan by successive regimes has left the domain in tatters. This warrants immediate attention of the leaders and policy makers to overhaul the higher education system on a priority basis.
- 2) **A Brief Overview of the Higher Education System of Pakistan:**
- 3) **Problems Associated With The Higher Education System of Pakistan:**
 - 3.1) Allocation of insufficient funds for higher education
Case in point: Budget (2017-18) versus Budget (2018-19)
 - 3.2) Paucity of highly qualified faculty
Case in point: Total number of PhD's (Pakistan versus Israel)
 - 3.3) Outdated teaching methods, redundant curricula and focus on cramming
Case in point: LUMS versus UET
 - 3.4) Rising cost of higher education resulting in the polarization of the society
Case in point: UET Lahore fee structure (2011-2015): An abrupt shift
 - 3.5) Corruption in higher education system and unplanned growth of private institutions
Case in point: AXACT: fake degrees scandal
 - 3.6) No link between Higher Education Institutes and the Industry
- 4) **Remedies- A Framework To Address The Issues With The Higher Education System of Pakistan:**
 - 4.1) Public private partnership to improve the overall quality of higher education
 - 4.2) Rooting out corruption
 - 4.3) Improving the scrutiny process while affiliating a university with H.E.C

ESSAY

"Ensuring quality higher education is one of the most important things we can do for future generations." (Ron Lewis)

The aforementioned quotation highlights the role higher education plays in determining the overall level of prosperity of any nation. In the contemporary era, higher education is considered a major engine of growth. It is for this reason that various countries are increasingly investing in their higher education sectors in a bid to consolidate their respective positions in the comity of nations. Yet, it is highly unfortunate that higher education has been blatantly ignored in Pakistan. Negligence of higher education in Pakistan by successive regimes has left the domain in tatters. This warrants immediate attention of the leaders and policy makers to revamp the higher education system on a priority basis. Doing so is imperative for Pakistan to become an economically strong, politically stable and a socially harmonious society.

The essay will start off by giving a brief overview of the structure of higher education in Pakistan. Once this is done, the focus of this discussion will shift to enumerating- with the aid of examples - the major problems that have plagued the higher education domain in the country. Finally, the discussion will be wrapped up by proposing a set of measures required to truly overhaul higher education in Pakistan in order to realize a better future.

In Pakistan, higher education refers to the education above the twelfth grade. This generally corresponds to the age bracket of seventeen to twenty five years. The higher education in the country is made up of two main sectors: Degree Awarding Institutions (DAIs) and the affiliated college sector. The Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan is an autonomous body that is responsible for allocating public funds from the

4.4) Cultivating a culture of research

Case in point: South Korean model

4.5) Emulating the German higher education model in order to enhance academia-industry linkages

4.6) Preventing the commercialization of higher education

5) **Conclusion:**

There is a pressing need for Pakistan to revamp its higher education system in order for the country to assume a prominent role in the international domain.

federal government to universities and DAIs and for authorizing degree programs. Moreover, colleges are also funded and regulated by HEC. Recently, the HEC has also started doling out funds to certain private sector universities for research purposes. The HEC is predominantly public in nature with the public Higher Education Institutes (HEIs) dominating both DAIs and college sectors. The HEI sector enrolls less than four percent (including colleges) of the age cohort and compares unfavourably with countries like India at eleven percent and Malaysia at thirty two percent. The bulk of research in the higher education sector is conducted in public sector universities supported by the HEC. In a nutshell, the HEC is responsible for the entire regulation of higher education in Pakistan.

Out of the various problems facing higher education in Pakistan, insufficient funds tops the list. Allocation of inadequate funds has hampered the growth of research and as such has become a major stumbling block in the way of Pakistan's path to progress. To make matters worse, it is quite often the case that a significant proportion of funds allocated to the higher education sector remains unreleased owing to political and economic considerations. As a result, the HEC is facing a severe financial crisis in terms of pursuing and assisting research projects. Majority of the public sector universities in Pakistan subsidize educational provision. Student fees don't cover the total costs incurred by these universities. This is where the HEC steps in to bridge the financial gap. However, the fact that HEC itself has limited funds at its disposal means that certain people- particularly the ones belonging to lower socio-economic backgrounds- are deprived of higher education. In the budget for the year 2018-2019, the government of Pakistan allocated forty six billion rupees for higher education. However, owing to poor economic conditions, the current government reduced this amount to twenty nine billion rupees in the 2019-2020 budget. Poor students bear the major brunt of such cuts in education spending. So, insufficient funds are a major impediment to quality higher education in Pakistan.

Moving on, the higher education system of Pakistan is also found wanting in terms of qualified faculty. The overall quality of the higher education system is gauged by the quality of those responsible for disseminating higher education. A cursory glance at the international arena reveals that countries ensure that PhD is the criterion for becoming a professor. However, this is not the case in Pakistan. The number of PhDs in Pakistan are nothing when compared to other countries in Asia. According to a report published by UNESCO in 2019, there are around six hundred and sixty three PhDs in Pakistan as compared to around thirteen hundred PhDs in Israel. This holds true despite the fact that the population and land mass of Israel is much less than that of Pakistan. The deficiency of qualified faculty in the higher education sector of Pakistan is therefore an alarming situation.

Outdated teaching methods, redundant curricula and focus on cramming instead of learning are also reasons for the poor state of higher education in Pakistan. On the first account, very few universities- if any- make use of innovative strategies for teaching. Limited use of practical case studies and the non-availability of modern equipment like projectors hamper the quality of education being given in universities and colleges. Similarly, the curriculum of universities is not revised and tailored according to the changing needs of modern times. Sadly, the focus is still on cramming rather than learning stuff. This limits the critical thinking ability of students and hence has devoid Pakistan of students who can think of out of the box solutions to various problems facing Pakistan. An example that helps illustrate the gravity of the situation at hand is the comparative case study of the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and the University of Engineering and Technology (UET). While the former makes use of modern teaching methods and continually upgrades its curriculum, the latter still follows traditional modes of learning and relies on cramming. This clearly depicts that limited focus on improving the teaching methodology is a major problem that beset the higher education system of Pakistan.

In addition, the rising cost of higher education in Pakistan has polarized the society. Education- as a right- must be accorded to one and all. In other countries, there are several agencies that provide interest free loans to students seeking to pursue higher studies. The universities themselves also offer numerous scholarships to ensure that higher education does not simply become the prerogative of the rich. However, the situation is completely opposite here in Pakistan. People hailing from lower socio-economic backgrounds find it challenging to arrange for funds required to continue higher education. The situation is further aggravated by the commercialization of higher education. A primary case in point is the abrupt increase of two hundred percent in the annual fees of the University of Engineering and Technology (UET) in the year 2015. The fee jumped from four thousand and five hundred rupees to a staggering sixteen thousand rupees. Then there is also the problem of certain expensive private universities. Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) and the Lahore School of Economics (LSE) charge their students hefty amounts for education. Not every deserving student is able to bag financial aid in such universities. This means that only the rich can send their children to such quality universities in Pakistan. Therefore, skyrocketing cost of university education in Pakistan coupled with extremely limited financing opportunities for the poor students speaks volumes regarding the dismal state of higher education in Pakistan.

Corruption in the higher education system of Pakistan is another factor responsible for its shambolic state. Corruption is perhaps the biggest problem facing the country in almost all walks of life. Higher education is no exception. Teachers, invigilators and students have all been found guilty of corruption. Instances of corruption include- but are not limited to- bribes, exam leakages, poor invigilation, and nepotism and biased marking criteria. Moreover, the issuance of fake degrees is another major problem. The AXACT fake degree scandal, which surfaced in the year 2015, is a pertinent example in this regard. AXACT sold around two hundred thousand fake degrees in the Gulf

countries including professional degrees too. Another problem worth mentioning is the dubious role of the HEC in terms of allowing various private universities to operate in the country. The unregulated growth of such private sector universities puts a question mark on the authenticity of the HEC. Hence, the higher education in Pakistan suffers from widespread corruption.

Lastly, there is no link between the higher education institutes and the Industry in Pakistan. The present age has rightly been termed as the age of technology and advancement. As a result of this, the demands of various industries keep changing. However, there is extremely little linkage between the higher education institutes and the industry professionals. The result is a set of graduates who do not possess the requisite skills. As a result of this, industry has to spend significant resources on the training of such university graduates. Moreover, there are very few workshops organized by universities. This means extremely limited industry exposure for university students during the course of their study. Hence, the absence of the industry and academia linkage is a major problem facing the higher education system of Pakistan.

Now that various problems associated with higher education in Pakistan are out of the way, it is important for the essay to transition to a recommendatory tone. Hence, the next section of this essay will propose some remedies required to overhaul the current higher education scenario in the country.

A prudent starting point for Pakistan would be to forge public private partnerships in order to revamp higher education in Pakistan. As already discusses, there are various problems associated with the higher education sector in Pakistan. This implies that the government alone cannot solve these problems. Public private partnerships will have a two pronged effect: they will enhance the overall quality of

higher education being imparted and at the same time keep the costs at a minimum level. So, such partnerships certainly have the potential to revolutionize higher education in the country.

Curbing the menace of corruption must be prioritized in order to address the crisis of higher education in the country. Corruption in the form of bribes; nepotism; misappropriation of funds and bypassing the accountability mechanism has proven to be a death knell for higher education in Pakistan. Even huge investments in the higher education sector- aimed at improving the quality of higher education and research- cannot bear fruit in the absence of a vigilant regulatory and accountability regime. An across the board accountability mechanism would certainly take care of the aforementioned problems.

It is also the responsibility of federal and provincial governments to revisit and improve the policy of awarding charters to private universities. HEC must play an active role to verify affiliation criteria of university carefully. Those institutions that fail to accomplish legal formalities and constitutional, cultural, co-curricular activities, healthcare facilities' standards must not be allowed to operate in the country. It is quite unfortunate that some institutions in Pakistan are not fulfilling these criteria but are still given licenses to operate. The government needs to address this issue head on by forming a special committee to oversee the awarding of charter to universities.

There also needs to be a renewed focus on promoting a research and innovation culture in the country. It is commonly said that the true essence of education is not to fill hollow vessels but to kindle a flame. This dictum perfectly fits within the context of Pakistan. Higher quality research is what determines how effective higher education is going to be for any country to find meaningful solutions to the problems

that ail the country. South Korea is a primary example of a nation that has progressed by leaps and bounds owing to the country focusing on research and innovation. It is for this reason that Samsung- a tech giant- has helped South Korea earn a lot of revenue. Hence, the higher education institutes in Pakistan must promote a culture of research and innovation.

Pakistan must emulate the German higher education model in order to enhance academia-industry linkages. In the modern era, technological advancements are taking place frequently. Hence, industry trends keep on changing. So, there needs to be a strong link between the higher education institutes and industry professionals. The German higher education model is worth mentioning in this regard. Taking a leaf out of the German book, professionals from various industries should be regularly invited to universities and colleges to deliver workshops. Doing so would enhance the overall quality of learning when students get industry exposure while studying theoretical constructs in their institutions. Moreover, such linkages would help higher education institutes to upgrade their curricula regularly to bring it in line with the latest developments taking place in different industries.

Lastly, higher education must be prevented from becoming a commercial entity. Fee assessed by certain higher education institutes such as the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) unfortunately make higher education a prerogative of the rich only. This needs to be addressed through an effective regulatory regime to ensure that students are not overcharged and there are adequate scholarships and funding programmes that cater to the educational needs of the poor segment of the society as well.

In a nutshell, higher education in Pakistan needs major revamping. If the issues facing higher education in the country are left unattended, the country can never realize

success that its founding fathers envisioned for the country. So, the government of Pakistan needs to develop a framework that would tackle all issues facing the higher education. Public private partnership along with an effective regulatory regime to oversee the functioning of higher education institutes in the country are the keys to success.

CHAPTER

13

***Title: Higher Education
Should Be Responsive
To Agricultural And
Industrial Needs Of Pakistan***

OUTLINE

Introduction:

Higher education must be responsive to the agricultural and industrial needs of Pakistan since they form the backbone of Pakistan's economy. Higher education will equip the country with the acumen required to devise innovative solutions to the agricultural and industrial problems facing the country.

Pakistan's agricultural needs:

- 2.1) Increasing per hectare yield to cater to the rising food demands
- 2.2) Devising strategies to eradicate the problem of water logging and salinity
- 2.3) Promoting technological and cutting edge machinery and methods of irrigation

Pakistan's industrial needs:

- 3.1) Continuous supply of energy
- 3.2) Availability of skilled workers
- 3.3) Innovation in modes of production
- 3.4) Use of state of the art technology

Why higher education needs to be responsive to Pakistan's agricultural needs?

- 4.1) Role in promoting the usage of best practices to boost agricultural output
Case in point: Drip irrigation system as opposed to in efficient flood irrigation system.
- 4.2) Important agent to teach the modern trends prevalent in agriculture
Case in point: Genetic engineering in agriculture to enhance productivity.
- 4.3) Instrumental role in equipping students with the art of devising "out of the box" and innovative strategies to counter water- logging and salinity.

ESSAY

Higher education must be responsive to the agricultural and industrial needs of Pakistan since they form the backbone of Pakistan's economy. Higher education will equip the country with the acumen required to devise innovative solutions to the agricultural and industrial problems facing the country. The last decade has witnessed the developing and the developed countries both tailoring their higher educational curricula in the light of their agricultural and industrial needs. Pakistan's agricultural needs include increasing the per hectare yield of crops; eradicating water logging and salinity; and adopting modern technological advancements to boost agricultural productivity. On the other hand, the country's industrial needs revolve around getting a continuous supply of energy; an adequate pool of skilled workers; and innovative and advanced modes of production. Fortunately, for Pakistan, the most pragmatic solution simply lies in tailoring its higher education system according to the aforementioned agricultural and industrial needs.

"Higher education must be a top priority of the global and developmental agendas because it is not an option but an imperative". (Ban Ki Moon)

At the outset, it seems worthwhile to enunciate Pakistan's major agricultural needs. First and foremost, the country needs to increase its per hectare yield of crops to cater to the food demands of the ever increasing population. According to the latest census, Pakistan's population stands at around two hundred and eight million people. Catering to the food requirements of such a huge population is a gigantic task. The situation is worsened in the midst of the use of low yield of crops. According to a report published by "Pakistan Bureau of Statistics," Pakistan's per-hectare yield of crops like wheat, maize and sugar cane is quite low compared to that of other developing countries like Bangladesh and India. Hence, it is imperative for the country's agriculture department to give a boost to the low per hectare yield of crops.

- 5) **Why higher education needs to be responsive to Pakistan's industrial needs?**
 - 5.1) Provision of technical and vocational education (TVET) to ensure a steady supply of skilled workers.
Case in point: Technical skills upgradation courses offered by "Aman Tech" Institute.
 - 5.2) Providing a platform to develop alternative means of energy to alleviate the problem of power cuts.
Case in point: Japanese universities offering majors in Renewable Energy Studies.
 - 5.3) Giving hands on training in operating the complicated machinery used in industries.
 - 5.4) Developing inter personal communication skills to reduce the barrier between bosses and employees to enhance worker productivity.
- 6) **How can higher education of Pakistan be made responsive to its agricultural and industrial needs?**
 - 6.1) Revamping education curricula to offer courses and degrees in industrial and agricultural studies.
 - 6.2) Liaison between industry and higher educational institutes
 - 6.3) Emulating the German and Japanese models of higher education
 - 6.4) Promoting research and innovation
- 7) **Conclusion:**
Tailoring the higher education as per Pakistan's agricultural and industrial needs will be instrumental in addressing the country's economic problems.

Moving on, eradicating the problems of water logging and salinity is another crying need of an hour as far as the country's agriculture sector is concerned. Water logging results in the accumulation of water over the surface of soil where crops are to sown. When this water evaporates, the salt is left behind making the soil saline. Pakistan's agricultural land is affected by water logging and salinity in one way or the other. This is extremely problematic more so for a country like Pakistan. Water logging and salinity, if left unaddressed, eat away at the nutrients of the soil and hence render the soil infertile. This is certainly something that Pakistan cannot afford. This gives rise to the need for adopting measures aimed at eradicating water logging and salinity.

Inefficient irrigation methods and the use of obsolete technology and machinery are yet another problems resulting in poor agricultural productivity in the country. Almost all farmlands in Pakistan make use of "flood irrigation system", which results in a lot of water wastage. Pakistan, being a water scarce country, needs to make an immediate switch to "drip irrigation system", which ensures the provision of adequate water to the crop thereby keeping the amount of wasted water to a minimal level. Pakistan is already on the verge of becoming a water scarce country. According to the World Bank, the per capita water availability in the country is 1017 cubic metres per capita. This number is quite close to the 1000 cubic metres per capita, which is often considered a threshold to water scarcity. So, keeping this in mind, inefficient methods of drainage are simply a luxury that Pakistan cannot afford. Similarly owing to lack of funds, several farmers are unable to use state of the art machinery in farms leading to a sub-optimal agricultural output. Therefore, there is a dire need to make an immediate switch to efficient modes of irrigation and machinery.

Having discussed the salient agricultural needs of Pakistan, the focus of this discussion will now shift to enlisting the major industrial needs of Pakistan. In this regard, ensuring a smooth and continuous supply of energy to industries is of paramount importance. Unfortunately, over the last decade or so, Pakistan has been suffering from an acute energy crisis. The situation has, no doubt, improved primarily due to the early

harvest projects under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor. However, with a rapidly growing population, energy demand is expected to increase exponentially. The situation, some time ago had become so dismal that industries were witnessing around twelve hours of load shedding. This wreaks havoc of the industries since the production is at least reduced by half. Therefore, it is vital for the society to address the issue of power cuts on a priority basis.

Availability of skilled pool of workers is a pre requisite for any industry to thrive. However, Pakistan's record of providing skilled workers to the industry is dismal to say the least. Even the ones who are skilled aspire to migrate to other countries in a bid to boost their chances of securing a better life. This has resulted in a severe brain-drain from Pakistan. Mostly, skilled workers migrate to countries like Dubai and Saudi Arabia. As a result, there is a serious paucity of workers with the latest know-how of the emerging trends and skills in the industrial domain. This is yet another problem facing Pakistan's industry that needs to be taken care of.

Yet another need of the industrial sector in Pakistan is the adoption of innovative means of production and the usage of state of the art technology. This will have a twofold effect: not only will this help the industries minimize the overall cost of production but it will also give Pakistan a competitive edge in the world markets. The contemporary era is characterized by rapid advancements in technology. So, in order to stay competitive, the country must focus on promoting innovative ideas. Currently, however, the country suffers from a serious lack of innovation and the usage of obsolete machinery and technology. This leads one to believe that fostering industrial innovation and implementing cutting edge technology in the industrial sector are a major need of the hour.

Now that the major agricultural and industrial needs of Pakistan have been highlighted, the essay will now elucidate, with the aid of examples, how making the higher education

responsive to these needs is the pragmatic solution to address the already discussed problems.

Higher education can prove to be instrumental in teaching people the best practices, which if employed in agriculture, can significantly improve the agricultural output. The example in this regard is teaching the importance of the usage of drip irrigation system instead of the conventional flood irrigation system. Several developing countries like **Nepal, Bangladesh and India** have already switched to a drip irrigation system. As a result, they are experiencing around fifty to sixty percent less wastage of water. With the continuous expansion in the scope of CPEC, Pakistani politicians can request their Chinese counterparts to facilitate with the introduction of such modern techniques. Hence, the higher education programs must teach such modern methods of irrigation along with other best practices to the people seeking higher education.

Moving on, higher education institutes, by offering courses in the recent technological advancements in the field of agriculture, can help address the agricultural needs of Pakistan. A big step in this regard is to disseminate knowledge regarding the **"genetic engineering"** technology. This involves modifying the DNA of crops to introduce a new trait that is absent in the present crop. According to a report published by **Cornell University**, the widespread use of genetic engineering in agriculture has not only reduced pesticide usage by **thirty seven percent** but also increased the crop yield by **twenty two percent**. Pakistan should, therefore, take a leaf out of the books of France, China and USA and must incorporate the knowledge regarding the usage of such cut-throat technologies in their higher education programs.

Pakistan's higher education institutes can help avoid the problem of water logging and salinity by spending money and resources in finding innovative strategies to these problems. One major problem associated with the higher education sector of Pakistan is a lack of research culture. Hence, investing in research and development would

facilitate the students in finding innovative and out of the box remedies to water logging and salinity.

Higher education, if made responsive to Pakistan's industrial needs, can help the country deal with the problems surrounding the industry. **Technical and vocational education (TVET)** can significantly enhance the skill set of the potential industrial workers. Doing so would not only help the industrial workers find meaningful employment but it would also increase the industrial output manifold. **Aman Tech** is among the largest worker training institutes in Pakistan working on equipping the workers with skillsets demanded by the industries. However, much still needs to be done. This speaks volumes regarding how tailoring higher education by incorporating such courses could help solve the problems that have plagued the country's industrial sector.

Another way in which higher education can cater to Pakistan's industrial needs is by offering courses and degrees in renewable energy sources. Japanese universities have started offering courses in renewable studies for the same purpose. It is commonly believed that education is a major agent of socialization, which helps instil moral compass in masses and therefore enable them to differentiate between right and wrong. Therefore, it is imperative for higher education institutes in Pakistan to lay emphasis on the development and know-how of renewable sources of energy such as wind and solar energy to ensure a continuous power supply to the industry.

Moreover, higher education institutes must focus on practical learning as well. Dedicated labs must be made whereby the students must be allowed to play around and analyse the working mechanism of major machines used in the industries. Doing so would give them a hands on experience of working with the equipment before they even start working in the industry. Another way that higher education can cater to the industrial needs is by focusing on developing the inter-personal communication skills of workers. This would enable them to communicate effectively with their bosses and co-

workers both. As a result, the overall productivity of the industrial sector would increase manifold.

Now, the focus of the discussion will shift to mentioning how the higher education of Pakistan can be made responsive to the agricultural and industrial needs of Pakistan. The first step in this regard would be to revamp the educational curricula. This would entail offering degrees in the agricultural and industrial studies to develop the skill set of potential workers. Moreover, liaison between industry and higher education institutes would also prove beneficial. This would enable the industrialists to give suggestions regarding the skills that are required in the industry. Thirdly, emulating the German and Japanese higher education models, after due consideration of the local dynamics, would be a major step forward. These countries epitomize higher education curricula designed in accordance with the agricultural and industrial needs. Last but not the least, promoting innovation and research is another crying need of the hour. Focus on education and research will help Pakistan in devising and implementing the best possible solutions to address its agricultural and industrial needs.

In conclusion, it can safely be stated that higher education must be designed keeping in view the agricultural and industrial needs of Pakistan. This will sail Pakistan's ship out of troubled waters and set its course right to achieving economic development and the associated benefits. This may seem like an uphill task but is by no means impossible. Focusing on research and innovation along with liaison between industry and higher educational institutes are the keys to success.

CHAPTER

14

Globalization Is the New Form of Colonialism

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Present era- termed as the age of globalization- has seen the rise of neo-colonialism. Global North- on account of economic might and technological superiority- is increasingly using various instruments of globalization to control the economy, polity and social processes of the developing world.

2) Framing the Issue: Defining Key Variables

2.1) **Globalization:** increasing interconnectedness of the world community owing to the free movement of people, capital and goods transforming the world in to a global village.

2.2) **Colonialism:** the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.

3) How Globalization Is The New Form Of Colonialism:

3.1) Superpowers control the domestic markets through trade liberalization

Case in point: USA's free trade agreement with Mexico giving the former complete control over the latter's domestic market

3.2) Use of IMF loans and the accompanying conditionality clause handicaps the state's policy making

Case in point: Tanzanian government forced to cut government spending under the dictates of IMF

3.3) Exploitation of cheap labour and resources in poor countries through MNCs

Case in point: Case study of Nike

3.4) Use of economic aid to influence policy making in developing countries

Case in point: US' Marshal Plan versus the USSR sponsored Molotov plan during the cold war

ESSAY

3.5) Cultural invasion through media and education

Case in point: cultural exchange programs

3.6) Corporate philanthropy used by powerful countries as means to attract talent from the poor ones

Case in point: excerpt from "Capitalism: a ghost story"

3.7) Creation of global institutions to primarily serve the western agenda

Case in point: UN, IMF and World Bank used as pawns by the West to meet its goals.

3.8) Dumping of old technology in poor countries to reap financial rewards

Case in point: China dumping coal fired plants in Pakistan and Africa

4) Detrimental Impacts of Neo-Colonialism in the Age of Globalization:

- Rising inequality between the global north and the global south
- Harmful impacts on women

Case in point: African women among the worst affectees of IMF dictated policies

- Rise of anti-globalization forces

Case in point: Brexit and the proliferation of populist parties throughout Europe

5) Framework to Eradicate Colonialism Being Pursued Under the Garb of Globalization:

5.1) Democratizing institutions of global governance

5.2) Vibrant role of media to increase awareness regarding this practice

5.3) Onus on the developed world to shun their exploitation of the developing countries

Conclusion:

The victims of neo-colonialism- primarily the poor countries- cry out to the international community in order to break the vicious cycle of their exploitation at the hands of the global powers.

Creation of the United Nations organization post world war two ushered in an era of decolonization. Ideas of independence and sovereignty became hallmarks of the contemporary society. The UN charter, under article 2(7) forbade countries from interfering in the internal affairs of other states. Moreover, great importance was attached to the notion of free flow of people, goods and capital. Therefore, the present age came to be recognized as the age of globalization promising benefits to one and all. The powerful countries, thus, began contemplating new means to control the former colonies. Hence, as unfortunate as it might seem, the developed world spread the tentacles of its domination over the developing world under the garb of globalization. Global North, on account of its economic might and technological superiority, is increasingly using various instruments of globalization such as media, global institutions and multinational corporations to control the economy, polity and social processes of the developing world.

In order to kick-start the discussion, it is imperative to first decode what the term globalization entails. It refers to the increasing inter-connectedness of the world community in social, political and economic realms. With rapid advancements in technology, the world is increasingly being transformed in to a global village owing to the dilution of physical distance. In the economic domain, free trade and liberalization of world economy have paced up. On the social front, people are interacting with each other on social media platforms. Cultural exchange programs have also become quite pronounced thereby bringing people from different backgrounds together. Politically speaking, institutions of global governance have surfaced as means to regulate the global politics. So, in a nutshell, the present world is characterized by these forces of globalization.

In simple terms, colonialism refers to the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically. The European colonial era lasted from the sixteenth century till the mid twentieth century. During the course, various European powers such as Britain and France colonized different parts of Asia and Africa. The initial goal was to create wealth through the exploitation of these colonies. **Shashi Tharoor**, in his book **The Era of Darkness: British Empire in India**, opines that Britain made an elaborate rail network in the subcontinent primarily to transfer raw materials back to Britain. These raw materials were used to manufacture finished goods, which were in turn sold to the people of subcontinent at higher prices. This ensured a continuous flow of wealth from the subcontinent to Britain. However, as time passed, the colonial masters began controlling the political and social dynamics of these colonized areas. In the present era, the global powers are, however, making use of different tools of globalization to indirectly exert their control over the relatively weaker nations in what is known as neo-colonialism.

The developed world utilizes the forces of free trade and trade liberalization, which are the key instruments of globalization, to extend their control over the domestic markets and policies of the less developed countries. Globalization advocates free movement of people, capital, and goods. There is no denying the fact that free trade has enhanced the global output and has lifted millions of people out of poverty. However, a critical glance of how free trade works in the contemporary era reveals that it has simply become a tool for the powerful nations to extract and exploit the resources of the weaker ones. A cogent example in this regard is the free trade agreement brokered between USA and Mexico. The agreement, more or less, gave USA complete control over the domestic market of Mexico. This was viewed in Mexico with scepticism with the locals blaming the US for furthering its neo-colonial agenda through free trade.

Moreover, loans doled out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have also been criticized for handicapping the recipient states' policy making. The primary role of IMF is to help countries struggling with a balance of payment crisis. However, the loans doled out by IMF accompany a conditionality clause. This requires recipient states to undertake certain steps as dictated by IMF. Some of these steps are reduction in government spending; increasing taxes; rationalizing power tariffs and eliminating subsidies. So, this means the host state has extremely limited autonomy over its own economy. Since these institutions are controlled by powerful nations such as the US and other European nations, it gives them significant leverage over the poor nations seeking IMF sponsored bailout packages. A perfect example that fits within the frame is the case study of Tanzania. In 2003, the Tanzanian government was forced to cut government spending in the education and health sectors. As a result, the country saw its maternal mortality rate along with the number of out of school children substantially increase. So, globalization is unfortunately becoming a tool of colonialism in the modern era.

Multinational corporations, the chief actors of globalization, are also used to exploit the cheap labour and resources of poor countries. Multinational corporations, no doubt, have reduced unemployment to a certain extent. However, it is these MNCs that have been blamed for handicapping a state's policy making. MNCs dictate what to produce; how to produce it; how many workers to hire and how many to lay off. This leaves the home country with little control over certain sectors of the economy. Some MNCs such as Apple have their products assembled in countries where labour is cheap. Nike was also recently criticized for exploiting cheap labour to manufacture footballs in Sialkot, Pakistan. These examples illustrate how globalization is increasingly being transformed by the powerful nations into a tool for exploiting weaker nations.

Moving on, superpowers have also resorted to the use of economic aid to enhance their influence in different regions throughout the world. There is no free lunch in international relations. Any help from a particular nation- primarily in the form of economic aid- has some strings attached. Usually, the donors pursue some strategic or political goals through economic aid. This is highly problematic since it violates the sovereignty of the recipient states. The case study that helps illustrate the predicament is that of the super power rivalry during cold war. In order to sustain its influence on the western European region, USA unleashed a massive economic aid program called the Marshal plan. The aim was to prevent European states from falling under the strategic orbit of communism. This prompted the USSR to introduce its "Molotov Plan" aimed at increasing the communist influence throughout Europe. In the process, the sovereignty of nations struggling on the economic front was seriously undermined. Hence, globalization is- at times- exploited by powerful countries to influence decision making of the weaker nations relying on the former's support.

Rich and developed nations also utilize social and electronic media along with education curricula and fashion trends to alter the lifestyle of people in poor countries. Social media has emerged as a powerful tool in the twenty first century. Western powers use media and cultural exchange programs as means to spread their culture. Students undertaking cultural exchanges are often taught how the western culture is 'superior' to the eastern culture. Once these students return to their home countries, they tend to mimic the culture they had learnt during the course of their stay abroad. Moreover, Hollywood movies and latest fashion trends are also transmitted from the West to the rest. This form of cultural imperialism is another way for the global north to maintain its might over the rest of the world under the garb of globalization.

Moreover, corporate philanthropy is used by powerful countries as means to attract talent from the poor ones. Educational scholarships funded by corporate giants can be extremely beneficial for the society at large. However, in the modern era, such gestures are simply used to attract talent from poor countries. This leads to brain drain, which is detrimental for the already resource deprived nations. Moreover, whenever corporate giants fund NGOs, they want such NGOs to spread the narrative of supporting capitalism. In her book "Capitalism: a ghost story," Arundhati Roy posits that capitalist elites like the Rockefeller Foundation fund NGOs and sponsor scholarships for deserving students such that when these students return back home- in case they do- they will help in sustaining capitalism. This would mean more profits for such elites and hence create gross inequalities in the society at large.

Even the institutions of global governance, which were once hailed as the true tenets of globalization, have been used as pawns to serve the interests of the developed world. In the post-world war era, global institutions were created as means to mitigate the anarchy prevalent in international relations. Rather than facilitating the smooth regulation of international affairs, the western nations began using these to spread the web of their domination over the rest of the world. For instance, the powerful countries use these institutions to impose sanctions on the countries not abiding to the rules created by them. The case study of Iran is worth mentioning here. The refusal of Iran to relinquish its nuclear program spurred the western powers to use the platform of the UN to impose strict sanctions on Iran. Eventually, when Iran did succumb to the mounting international pressure, it was the United States of America that unilaterally withdrew from the Joint Comprehensive Platform of Action. And the US did so with impunity. Similarly, the use of veto power by five nations to intimidate poorer nations also helps illustrate how all global institutions are merely tools to serve the powerful nations. Even the Bretton woods institutions are highly undemocratic in nature and a perfect depiction of the dictum "might is right." It is for this reason that

Joseph Stiglitz, a renowned economist, has termed the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) as "unholy trinity" that add to the economic woes of the poor nations. This is a glaring manifestation of the fact that institutions of global governance are being utilized to serve the interests of the select few.

Finally, dumping of old technology in poor countries to reap financial rewards is another argument that shows how globalization is used as a tool of colonialism. Recent times have seen detrimental impacts of climate change in the form of glacial melting; reduced fresh water availability; flooding of coastal regions; destruction of environmental habitat and a potential refugee crisis. This has mobilized the entire international community in the fight against climate change. The fight against climate change has necessitated the switch from non-renewable sources of energy to renewable sources. Hence, superpowers have begun contemplating ways to make the transition to renewable sources of energy without wasting the old technology. So, they are dumping old technology in poorer countries as means to earn profits. Chinese practice of dumping coal fired power plants in Pakistan and African nations is an example that fits here. This once again lends support to the claim that globalization is being used as a tool of neo-colonialism.

Pursuance of neo-colonialism under the umbrella of globalization has had detrimental impacts on the entire world. This has polarized the world community. Gross inequalities have become quite pronounced: the global north is becoming richer by the day while the global south is being exploited and hence sapped of wealth and resources. All in all, this means an extremely unfair world order. Moving on, neo-colonialism has spelt a disaster for the welfare of women and children. Cuts in government spending have exacerbated the plight of women and children thereby enhancing maternal and infant mortality rates. Hence, the social fabric of the society has eroded. Lastly, failure of

globalization and the liberal international order to deliver on its promises has led to the rise of populism and nationalism throughout the globe. This shows in the episode of Brexit, Trump's surge to popularity and the proliferation of populist parties throughout Europe. So, the appeal of globalization has been diminished as shown by the rise of anti-globalization voices.

The situation calls upon the international community to put in place a set of remedies required to shun neo-colonial practices, which are being pursued through globalization. An appropriate starting point in this regard would be to democratize the institutions of global governance. These institutions must never be used to serve the individualistic interests of the powerful nations at the cost of the welfare of poor countries. Several voices throughout the world are already clamouring for reforming the global institutions. So, if they are truly democratized, there will be no space for the powerful countries to exploit the tools of globalization to their own advantage.

International media also needs to play a vibrant role in this regard. Media is an important agent of socialization that helps shape public opinion. Moreover, social media is another potent tool that can come in handy in terms of highlighting the malpractice. The media needs to host talk shows and broadcast documentaries that call for the fight against neo-colonialism. So, media can bring the entire international community together to break the web of neo-colonialism.

Lastly, onus is on the developed world as well to shun their exploitation of the developing countries. The former needs to realize that doing so is imperative for the society to co-exist peacefully and hence save the project of globalization. The United States of America, being the world power, needs to take the lead in this regard. Other countries will then automatically follow in the footsteps of the US. This will likely reduce and eventually eliminate the malpractice.

To conclude, it can be stated with utmost certainty that colonialism is still operative under the garb of globalization. This has led to the severe exploitation of the poor and underdeveloped nations at the hands of the powerful ones. Hence, there is a dire need to implement steps that will help the global community to shun the practice of colonialism being pursued under the veil of globalization. Despite looking like a difficult task, it is by no means impossible. Reforming the institutions of global governance and making the global powers realize that they need to play a responsible role are the keys to success.

CHAPTER 15

Is Literature The Lonely Planet Of An Idealist?

OUTLINE

1) **Introduction:**

While some see literature as aesthetical representation of a writer's feeling, the truth is that literature remains the most potent tool in the hands of a writer to change societies and people's worldview and their responses to the challenges that life poses.

2) **Contextualising the Statement:**

Literature means oral and written tales, novels, poems, folklores, parables and short stories.

While idealist may think of literature as his only planet, people grounded in reality rely more on the efficacy of literature for the purpose of transformation.

3) **Literature Humanises People:**

3.1) **Don Quixote: A Literary Protests against Reconquista and the Christian Purges against Jews and Muslims**

3.2) **Humanism: Central Theme of Manto's Stories**

4) **Literature Is the Shaper and Teller Of a Culture:**

4.1) **Pramoedya Ananta Toer's Novels form and consolidate Javanese Culture**

4.2) **Chinua Achebe's The African Trilogy: Tales of the Myriad African Cultures and Traditions**

5) **Literature Is the Mirror Reflection of a Society's social and Political environment:**

5.1) **Russian Literary Masters' Works: Tales of the Tsarist Russia**

5.2) **Naguib Mahfouz's Cairo Trilogy: Stories of the Twenty plus Years of Cairo and Its Generations**

5.3) **Munif's Cities of Salts: Stories of Middle East's Oil, the Sheikdoms, the Sheikhs and Their Policies**

ESSAY

- 6) **Poetry: Appeal to Reason; Call of Action; Resistance and Liberation:**
 - 6.1) Aharon Shabtai Appeals To the Israeli Reason
 - 6.2) Poems of Muhammad Iqbal: A Call of Action
 - 6.3) Darvish's Words: Inspire People to Resist Occupation
- 7) **Literature: the Most Accurate History:**
 - 7.1) Gustavo Flaubert's Madame Bovary
 - 7.2) Pablo Neruda's Works
- 8) **Conclusion:**

Literature is how a community or society embodies its deepest commitments. That is why so many literary "bits" are needed. It is also why literature does not exist autonomously. It depends entirely on the spirit of its culture. Thus David Hicks: "Literature is only as important as the culture it sustains." Literature, contrary to the assertion that it is a lonely planet of an idealist, is the most powerful tool in the hands of intellectuals. The literati often the time take refuge in the literature to better put their thoughts and teachings. Only literary texts have proved instrumental in creating societies, nations and states.

However, literature's role cannot be confined only to the making and creation of societies, nations or states for that matter. The subjects of literature are as many as those of human life. Literature at times is the historical account that one does not find in textbooks. Literature is questioning of the most challenging and painful truths of society. Literature, in the hands of creative minds, cultivates a society's culture. So the most crucial task that literature successfully does is the process of introspection. Thus, it is correct to say that literature is not only realistic, true to life but also an expression of our experiences and of the life that surrounds us. Literature can best be defined as a criticism of life.

An essential service that literature renders to any society or people is its successful attempts to humanise it. Since antiquity, literature has been performing the necessary task of humanising us. The most celebrated Spanish novelist of all times and the first modern novelist, Cervantes in his magnum opus Don Quixote has exploited literature for this very purpose. The book came out during the late Renaissance, a time of resistance to the Counter-Reformation in Spain. Cervantes was a devotee of Erasmus's In Praise of Folly, perceived as dangerous by the Holy Office; its ideas promoted a critical, defiant view of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and were credited for igniting a fever of anti-clericalism. The novel set in the early seventeenth century,

questions the reader on what his elders and his generation had done to a multi-cultured Spain where hardly a century ago Andalusian civilization thrived.

For Cervantes, the Andalusian civilization was the unique synthesis of the three great religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism. It mainly deals with rural life in central Spain. And while it described, endearingly, the arid landscape of La Mancha, it is also, at least in my eyes, a severe critique of Cervantes's time. Not a single page goes by without a stern assessment—social, political, religious, and military—of his society. The novel is built on pure satire, meaning that nothing is sacred. The list of targets is endless: one famous chapter criticizes the Holy Office of the Inquisition, another chapter ridicules the government; there are harsh comments about the place of women in Spanish society, Moors, aristocratic arrogance, and so on. Nevertheless, Cervantes uses his wit and the capability of creating literature to force his reader on thinking what Reconquista had done to the country of his birth. Since then, every other author has effectively used literature to humanize his or her society.

Why go elsewhere when there is enough evidence for the proposition laid before here in the Sub-continent. Saadat Hassan Manto, arguably the most important literary figure in the Sub continent used the art of storytelling to humanize his fellows and society. He was not only relevant in his times. His works need close reading now more than ever. Not much has changed. We are still grappling with issues of freedom of expression and struggles of identity. Almost 70 years later, our identities lie inextricably linked to caste, class, race and religion, as opposed to seeing the universality of human experience. Manto shows us a mirror to our fears and prejudices.

Furthermore, Manto appeals to a broad spectrum of readers because his stories disenchant us with the apparent truths of our own times. Manto, to assert again, is especially relevant at the present moment in history because our society is plunged into sectarian and communal killings, against which Manto wrote vehemently. One idea that Manto tried to rescue and which we must rescue today was the idea of humanism. He

saw the notion of humanism not as categorically a right of the state but as a vitality of a culture.

Of all the questions that lay before an author, the most significant one is that of national culture. Culture encapsulates all the details of people's social life. Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, literature and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. While all these experimentations with decoding life construct a fabric collectively known as fabric, the role literature plays in its formation is the most critical one. The significance that literature plays in the creation of culture makes it a magnificent cultural artifact. Literature serves the purpose of the most suitable medium of expression for the writers in this regard. True that culture is the amalgamation of knowledge, belief, art, laws, and many other things. However, literature is, perhaps, the only factor that defines and creates a culture most poignantly.

In this regard, the most pertinent example that comes to one's mind is that of Indonesian literary giant, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Toer, through his novels, explains the Javanese culture before the world in days when the colonial powers thought of regions outside the West as lesser civilisation and deprived of any higher culture.

Similarly, Chinua Achebe was Africa's most iconoclastic son who successfully broke the Western thought. His most famous novel, *Things Fall Apart* is not only a political novel. At the same time, the novel, informs the reader about the myriad traditions, cultures and tribal codes that the Western authors of Africa failed to notice. Who will say then that literature has no place or significance other than of refuge for an idealist? After all, the likes of Toer and Achebe are in abundance. The reason that these literary masters seek refuge in literature is not idealism but a deeper understanding of human psychic that loves stories.

And who can deny that literary masterpieces are the mirror reflection of any given society? Even a cursory look at the Victorian era novels or those created in the mid-

nineteenth century Tsarist Russia tell that these literary works were nothing but exercises of reflections on what these societies were. Charles Dicken's novels tell us about the transformations that the English society was undergoing.

Likewise, novels of Russian masters were reflections on the deep anxiety that the Russian society was feeling under the Tsars and their repressive rule over people's lives. Which idealist will ever tell a tale of the changes a society undergoes? Or for that matter, is it correct to brush aside the works of the Russian novelists of the nineteenth and twentieth century as mere jittering of idealists?

Nevertheless, the best example that proves that literature is to reflect on society at any given time is Naguib Mahfouz's Cairo Trilogy. The trilogy tells the reader the rapid transformations that the Egyptian society was experiencing: politically, socially, economically, morally and culturally. Contrary to the perception that literature is the lonely planet of an idealist, literature is the only way through which the sharpest minds tell us about the past, present or future of any society. Literature for a writer is the tool through which he shows the society to indulge in the process of introspection.

And what of poetry as a literary genre? Is it mere songs of the longing to meet one's beloved? Do people think of it no more than describing nature? Contrary to these assertions, poetry is a weapon in the hand of a seer – the poet. Poets with an understanding of history are often filled with a deep foreboding. They never allow themselves to become submerged in despair; they continue to hope while recalling misdemeanours from the past as a caution to the criminals of today. They alert their readers to the punishments that befall those who remain silent and become accessories to murder. The Hebrew poet Aharon Shabtai appeals to his fellow countrymen not to think of the past from the perspective of the oppressed, but to look inside themselves and ask if they have, even subconsciously, inherited something from their oppressors. He warns his Israeli fellows that the horrors of the colonialism they inflict on the Palestinians might one day confront Israelis in the dock:

*"And when it's all over,
My dear, dear reader,
On which benches will we have to sit,
Those of us who shouted 'Death to the Arabs!'
And those who claimed they 'didn't know?'"*

Poets, referred to as the conscience of a society, use poetry to a devastating effect in translating people's mood most accurately. Whether one takes up the works of Muhammad Iqbal or Faiz, all poems reflect people's collective feeling against their oppressors. But the poetry does not limit itself to the task of telling people's desires and wishes only. Poetry also invites people to collaborate to overthrow the brutal oppression they are put under.

The Poet of the East, Muhammad Iqbal who says, "Nations are born in the hearts of the poets, they prosper or dies in the hands of the politicians." Many a writer has taken the daunting task of creating nations. Many more have created literature that has proved instrumental in helping people to wake from the slumber and create a destiny of their own. A cursory glance over the lives of all such men and women informs us that the writers are the most sensitive and exquisite minds of any given social group. They remain at the forefront of securing people's right to live independently and without subjected to any foreign power.

To speak of hope, nothing other than poetry can instil it in the hearts of a defeated people. Muhammad Iqbal, through his poetry, enlivened the hearts of the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. It was Iqbal's poetic magic that proved instrumental in giving hope to the Sub-continental Muslims. Iqbal, through his message, successfully encouraged the people of the sub-continent to stand up to the British tyranny. But before asking the people to act, he had made a diagnosis. He knew that before persuading people to chalk out a way of their own, they needed hope. Iqbal says to the people:

The true believers are once more to receive from the court of God
The glory of the Turkamans, the intellect of the Indians and the eloquence of the

Arabs.

And his work is replete with such couplets. Another poet, Mahmoud Darwish from another place, Palestine, widely known as the Poet of Resistance, tells the Palestinians to resist the illegal occupation of their lands at any cost. Though Darwish left this mortal world in 2008, the Palestinians still draw inspiration from his poetry. The poetry of Darwish gives them new energy every day. This is the magic of literature. It acts as elixir of hope, courage and energy for a people of an occupied country or a subjugated people. Just one example would suffice. Identity Card. The poem sparked much political controversy when it was published in 1964. Some Israeli politicians still find it objectionable, accusing Darwish of hating Israelis. However, the poem's nuance lies in its distinction between anger and hatred. And the poem tells the reader about the anger that Palestinians feel whenever Israel commits injustice of any sort to them. The last stanza of the poem aforementioned that serves the purpose of anger-gauge reads:

Write down:

I am an Arab

Robbed of my ancestors' vineyards

And of the land cultivated

By me and all my children.

Nothing is left for us and my grandchildren

Except these rocks...

Will your government take them too, as reported?

Therefore,

Write at the top of page one:

I do not hate people,

I do not assault anyone,

But...if I get hungry,

*I eat the flesh of my usurper.
Beware...beware...of my hunger,
And of my anger.*

Who can call these lines as some random thoughts occurred to an idealist sitting in some comfortable place? Are the above words not the most accurate representation of what the Palestinians had experienced and still do in the hands of the Israeli soldiers? If the answers to these questions are in negative, can we not say, then, that literature is life and people's experiences told in the forms of parables poetry?

And in the works of literature one finds a great deal on history and present that even history books try to evade. One finds a great deal of the social and political history of France in the Flaubert's Madame Bovary. Likewise, to know the historical nexus of capitalism and imperialism, Standard Oil Company of Pablo Neruda serves the purpose. Thus, any intellectual who wants his or her people to know the truths rely on literature. Does telling or teaching past, present or truths constitute an act of idealism? Any thinking mind will find it hard to answer this question in the affirmative.

Concluding the arguments one can say that reducing literature to an idealist's lonely planet is pessimism at best. Saying that in literature an idealist seeks refuge for his lofty ideals shows a person's superficial understanding of literature. Literature, on the contrary, is an exercise of humanising mankind. Works of literature create national culture. In prose and poetry, the writer tells the world of the society he lives in. And on many instances, literary masterpieces define a nation's course of leading life. Above all, literature in the form of prose and poetry is the most accurate historical account of human beings. Those who try to reduce literature as the lonely planet of the idealists attempt to snatch from people their innate desire to listen to stories. But Nizar Qabbani mocks their attempts when he says:

*Poetry is tattooed on our bodies...and souls;
It cannot be removed with water...soap...or a chemical solution.*

*We are subjected to the whims of Poetry
Whether we like it or not. As Venice is to her water
Brazil is to her coffee. France is to her wines.
Spain is to her Flamenco songs, Egypt is to her Nile.
Bassra is to her palm trees. Aleppo is to her jasmine flowers.
And Palestine is to the smell of her orange trees...*

*No child is born to us unless we hang on its neck a golden ornament on which is
engraved two verses of poetry.*

*When he dies, we inscribe on his tombstone two verses of poetry; And the Arab Lover
conquers the heart of his beloved with two verses of poetry.*

*These are the conspiracies of history, geography, geology, anthropology and evolution.
No nation can deny its origin.*

*We compete with each other in poetry, as we compete in nationalism, slogans and in the
high honors.*

CHAPTER

16

Urbanization in Pakistan: Problems and Solutions

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization in Pakistan has given rise to a host of urban issues such as an acute housing crisis; encroachments; traffic congestion; urban sprawls and urban heat island to mention only a few. This requires urban policy makers and politicians to collaborate and implement the best urbanization management practices in order to make Pakistani cities more liveable.

2) A Brief Overview of Urbanization in Pakistan:

3) Problems of Urbanization in Pakistan:

3.1) An acute housing crisis

Case in point: housing backlog of 10 million units (State Bank of Pakistan)

3.2) Encroachments on public lands

Case in point: massive encroachments in Lahore and Karachi by land mafias

3.3) Emergence of slums and squatter settlements

Case in point: Orangi slums in Karachi and slums in I-11 Islamabad

3.4) Traffic congestion in big cities

Case in point: Case study of Karachi: *average speed is 18.02 km/hr and traffic congestion is around 59%

3.5) Ineffective Land Use and Zoning

3.6) Gentrification and the environmental problems associated with urbanization

Case in point: Urban heat island

4) Managing Urbanization Using Best Practices:

4.1) Increasing the availability of low cost housing

Case in point: Naya Pakistan Housing Program- a step in the right direction

ESSAY

*"Rapid urbanization is neither a crisis nor a tragedy. It is a challenge for the future."
(Dr Mahbub-ul-Haq)*

The aforementioned quotation is a perfect depiction of the urbanization situation in Pakistan. The country is said to be urbanizing at a staggering rate of around two percent. This has spurred debate with regards to whether or not such rapid urbanization is a blessing for the society. While the situation might look appealing on paper in terms of prospects for enhanced standard of living, it has created a host of urban problems as well. These problems are likely to intensify if appropriate steps are not taken in the near future. In a nutshell, uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization in Pakistan has given rise to a host of urban issues such as an acute housing crisis; encroachments; traffic congestion; urban sprawls and urban heat island to mention only a few. This requires urban policy makers and politicians to collaborate and implement the best urbanization management practices in order to make Pakistani cities more liveable.

The essay seeks to first present a brief overview of the urbanization situation in Pakistan. Once this is taken care of, the focus of this discussion will shift to enunciating the problems of urbanization that have gripped Pakistan. Finally, a detailed framework would be presented to take care of all these problems in order to realize a more sustainable future for Pakistan.

Urbanization, simply put, is the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas and results in the growth of cities. It is also defined as a process whereby rural areas are transformed into urban areas.

"Urbanization is not a one way process, but it is a two way process. It involves not only the movement from villages to cities and change from agricultural occupation to business,

4.2) Slum upgradation and urban renewal projects along with the removal of encroachments through public private partnerships

Case in point: Houd-10 urban renewal project in Alexandria Egypt

4.3) Intelligent Transportation and green transportation systems

Case in point: collision avoidance system; cordon pricing; use of bicycles and public transport

4.4) Use of Geographical Information system to manage urbanization in a sustainable manner

4.5) Emulating nations like Singapore, Hong Kong and Dubai

Case in point: Dubai Smart Nation initiative

4.6) Vibrant role of local governments in improving sanitation and public safety in their respective areas

5) Conclusion:

There is a dire need to manage urbanization in a responsible manner in order to maintain the vitality and liveability of the cities in Pakistan.

trade, service and profession, but it also involves a change in the migrants' attitudes, beliefs, values and behaviour pattern." (Anderson)

Pakistan is urbanizing at an annual rate of around three percent- the fastest pace in the South Asian region. According to the United Nations Population Division estimates, by 2025, almost half of Pakistan's population will live in urban areas. Following the partition of 1947, one of the largest mass migrations in history took place. Consequently, many refugees settled in the urban areas of Pakistan. Natural increase in population, rapid industrialization and refugee's crossing over from India to Pakistan following Indo-Pak wars are some other factors responsible for the rapid urbanization in Pakistan.

One major problem of urbanization in Pakistan is an acute housing crisis facing the country. Housing is a basic necessity of life and is a major determinant of the overall quality of life. Unfortunately, the circumstances in which Pakistan emerged as an independent nation in the world meant that the country had to undertake a massive house building campaign. These plans, however, could not keep pace with the galloping housing needs. So, the housing shortage increased from 0.6 million units to 1.5 million units in 1970. According to the State Bank of Pakistan, the current housing backlog in the country stands at around 10 million. So, housing crisis is a major urban problem for Pakistan.

Encroachments are also responsible for the shambolic urbanization in Pakistan. A situation in real estate whereby a property owner violates the property rights of his neighbours by building something on the neighbours' land is generally referred to as an encroachment. It is also defined as the unlawful entering- gradually and without permission- upon the land, property and the rights of other people. Massive encroachments in Lahore and Karachi by land mafias are worth mentioning here. Land mafias in different parts of Pakistan such as in Johar Town, Lahore and some areas in Karachi have encroached upon public lands. This not only violates the property rights of

other people or government agencies but also causes haphazard urbanization. Hence, encroachments are a major problem that the urban stakeholders need to take care of.

Moreover, the emergence of slums and squatter settlements also aggravate the urbanization situation in the country. Inadequate housing provision to people forces them to resort to extreme measures. One such measure is the building of slums and squatter settlements. This form of housing is an informal housing, which is characterized by poor living conditions. Such dwellings are usually unregulated and they suffer from poor sewerage situation and inadequate drainage facilities. Such filthy living conditions give birth to several water borne diseases such as malaria. Some of the more prominent slums in the country are: Orangi slums in Karachi, slums in I-11 Markaz in Islamabad and in Township, Lahore. Slums and squatter settlements, therefore, contribute to the dismal urbanization in Pakistan.

Unplanned urbanization in Pakistan is also manifest in the poor traffic situation in the country. With growing population, the number of vehicles is continually on the rise. Inadequate focus on public transportation along with a severe paucity of intelligent modes of transportation has resulted in severe traffic congestion in the main urban areas throughout the country. Cities like Lahore and Karachi have been classified as one of the most congested cities in the world. The fact that the average speed is 18.02 km/hr and traffic congestion is around 59%. This puts Karachi in the same league as Mumbai and Chennai as far as traffic congestion is concerned. This means a greater travel time for citizens and also causes a lot of pollution. Such pollution is especially dangerous in the wake of climate change. For a country like Pakistan, which is the seventh most vulnerable nation to climate change, poor transportation is extremely problematic.

Ineffective land use and inappropriate zoning are also major urban issues facing Pakistan. Land use refers to how effectively a chunk of land is used. In an era where almost all countries are focusing on high density, high rise development with ample amenities in between as opposed to horizontal development, Pakistan is still obsessed with horizontal development. This means that a particular piece of land will

accommodate a fewer number of people. Zoning on the other hand refers to the division of a piece of land in to residential, commercial, industrial and recreational zones. In some areas of Pakistan, inappropriate zoning has been done as a result of which industrial areas are right next to residential areas and vice versa. This is an example of poor planning and is therefore a major urban problem.

High levels of gentrification is another urban problem that requires immediate action. Gentrification is the process of renovating and improving a house or district so that it conforms to middle-class taste. This is often considered as means of upgrading urban areas but does not come without any problems. As wealthy people flock in to certain areas, the cost of land and hence the general cost of living sky rocket. This makes it difficult for poor people to make ends meet in such areas. They start exploring other options. A major ingredient of sustainable communities is an appropriate social mix- communities that are designed to cater to wealthy class, middle class as well as the poor segment of population. Certain areas like the defence housing authority in Pakistan have witnessed uncontrolled gentrification, which is a severe issue responsible for poor urbanization.

The previous section of the essay was an attempt to highlight the major issues associated with urbanization in Pakistan. The focus of this essay will now shift to elucidating a set of measures required to be implemented on a priority basis. Doing so will certainly help the country realize the dream of more liveable and sustainable cities, which are essential to maintaining the vitality of cities and urban spaces.

First and foremost, the government- in collaboration with other urban stakeholders- should prioritize the provision of affordable housing. Affordable housing entails the provision of housing, which is within the reach of the poor segment of the population as well. This would have a two pronged effect: firstly, it will ensure housing- which is a basic need for everyone- to all people and secondly, it will prevent the proliferation of

slums and squatter settlements. Naya Pakistan Housing programme is a step in the right direction. The project envisions the construction of around five million affordable houses to cater to the ever increasing housing demand in Pakistan. Even though the project is in embryonic stages and there are quite a few things that need to be streamlined, it is indeed something that the country needs to capitalize on.

Slum upgradation and urban renewal projects along with the removal of encroachments through public private partnerships would also help Pakistan in terms of tackling all urban issues. Slum upgradation and urban renewal techniques focus on the provision of the basic amenities to people dwelling in these areas. An example worth mentioning in this regard is the slum upgradation project in Alexandria, Egypt. The project focused on improving the condition of buildings in Houd-10 settlement in Alexandria. Some steps which were taken were: provision of drainage and sewerage; improving the build quality of houses; provision of amenities and resource mobilization to ensure a better future of the inhabitants of the area. Pakistan is home to scores of informal settlements that are characterized by poor living conditions. So, the country can follow in the footsteps of Egypt in this regard. Moreover, removal of encroachments is also necessary to ensure the sustainability of urban areas. The development authorities such as the Lahore Development Authority (LDA) and Faisalabad Development Authority (FDA) must collaborate with their respective local governments to remove encroachments. Recent anti-encroachment operations in Lahore and Karachi are welcome steps in this regard. However, all those involved in the process must capitalize on the gains made in the anti-encroachment drive currently going on in the country.

Intelligent transportation system along with green transportation needs to be promoted in Pakistan on an urgent basis. The urban areas of the country are suffering from heavy traffic. Moreover, the country is the seventh most vulnerable nation to climate change. So, more vehicles would mean greater pollution in the urban areas of Pakistan. This is reason enough for the country to do something about the situation. Firstly, all planning

and development agencies in the country must make use of intelligent transportation system. Use of cordon pricing is a technique that has been adopted by various countries. It is a form of pricing whereby private vehicles are assessed a fee during peak travel hours in urban areas. Accidents also result in traffic congestion. So, the nation must make use of collision avoidance systems, which make use of sensors installed in vehicles that prevent vehicles from colliding with each other. Then, focus must be given on promoting public transportation. Doing so would encourage greater use of public vehicles as opposed to private vehicles. In Netherlands, there are bicycle dedicated lanes covering an area of thirty thousand kilometres. This ensures clean transportation and help prevent pollution as well. Moreover, the country must also focus on creating pedestrian friendly streets as means to promote walkability. Taking the aforementioned steps would be a game changer for the country in terms of addressing the urbanization issues in Pakistan.

Pakistan must also make use of geographical information systems (GIS) in order to manage urbanization. Urban information systems such as GIS are powerful means for the government used to meet long term urbanization planning and management challenges. These systems employ maps and statistics to enable various departments such as urban planning, transportation, water supply and drainage to manage urban problems in the most efficient manner. Google Earth, 3-D GIS and Arc GIS are some examples of urban information systems. GIS organizes geographical data so that a person reading a map can select data necessary for a specific task. GIS has many uses. For instance, it can be used to monitor area in order to prevent encroachments. Modelling tools available in the software also allow urban planners to simulate a plan to assess its feasibility. The traffic planning agencies can also use GIS in order to regulate traffic and road infrastructure. Hence, the use of GIS must be promoted to facilitate urban planning in Pakistan.

In addition, Pakistan must take a leaf out of the books of Singapore, Hong Kong and Dubai in order to address the challenge of urbanization that the country faces as of today. The Singapore Housing Development Board created a massive affordable housing scheme to cater to the housing needs of the poor population of the country. Hong Kong is one of the pioneers in high density, high rise buildings. At a time when Pakistan is witnessing unprecedented population growth and urbanization, it is pertinent to follow the example of Hong Kong in terms of building high density high rise buildings whilst ensuring the provision of ample amenities in between. Hong Kong is also considered as a country having one of the best transportation systems throughout the world. Talking about Dubai, the country has made efficient use of the smart cities concept in order to better manage different aspects of urbanization. Dubai Smart Nation programme is an initiative whereby the citizens use a single application in order to do various things such as paying bills, booking public transportation, identifying best possible routes and obtaining other associated information. So, if Pakistan adopts these steps- after configuring them according to the local socio-economic dynamics of course- the country would be well equipped to manage urbanization in a better way.

Lastly, local governments also need to play a vibrant role in this regard. Managing urbanization in a country that has a population of around two hundred and ten million is by no means an easy task. This requires all urban stakeholders to collaborate. Hence, this is where local governments need to step up. They should help the government identify unutilized or under-utilized lands for developmental purposes. Moreover, they need to ensure that the developers follow the local building and zoning laws. Moving on, local governments should also focus on the provision and regular upgradation of urban infrastructure. They should also call upon the citizens of Pakistan to focus on planting trees and greenery in order to make communities more liveable. Hence, constructive role of local governments is of paramount importance in this regard.

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OUTLINE

Introduction:

As unfortunate as it might seem, the economy of Pakistan is in bad shape as characterized by various problems such as fiscal deficit; current account deficit; high cost of doing business; low ease of doing business and a lack of export infrastructure to mention only a few. This requires a holistic and visionary approach to steer Pakistan's economic ship out of troubled waters.

A Brief History of Pakistan's Economy:

Challenges Confronting the Economy of Pakistan:

3.1) Huge Fiscal Deficit

Case in point: Fiscal deficit: 8.9 percent for fiscal year 2019

3.2) Savings-Consumption gap

Case Point: Indo-Pak Comparison

3.3) Current Account Deficit and Trade Deficit

Case in point: Trade deficit for fiscal year 2018 was \$37.67 billion, an all-time high (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)

3.4) Low Ease of Doing Business

Case in point: Pakistan ranked 136 on the Ease of Doing Business Index in 2018 (World Bank)

3.5) High cost of doing business

Case in point: high corporate taxes, high power tariffs and delayed tax rebates

3.6) A huge circular debt

Case in point: Circular debt of around 1.5 trillion rupees has crippled Pakistan's economy (Dawn)

3.7) Low Standard of Living

ESSAY

4) Solutions to Pakistan's Ailing Economy:

4.1) Change in National psyche and mindset

4.2) Building up Human Capital

Case in point: Emulating Scandinavian countries in this regard

4.3) Making use of the youth bulge in the coming years

Case in point: Youth bulge of sixty four percent (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)

4.4) Building export infrastructure

Case in point: Pakistan still needs to import powdered milk

4.5) Improving ease of doing business and lowering the cost of doing business

4.6) Broadening the tax base

5) Conclusion:

It is imperative for Pakistan to tackle its economic woes in order to realize a prosperous future.

In the present age of geo-economics, the standing of any country in the international arena is determined by its economic prowess. A cursory glance at the international arena shows that various countries rose to prominence on the back of sound economic growth. China and Japan are examples worth mentioning in this regard. It is, however, a pity that the economy of Pakistan is faltering. The nation lags behind in almost all economic indicators. This has given birth to the debate regarding whether or not Pakistan will be able to come out of the grave economic crisis it faces as of now. As unfortunate as it might seem, the economy of Pakistan is in bad shape as characterized by various problems such as fiscal deficit; current account deficit; high cost of doing business; low ease of doing business and a lack of export infrastructure to mention only a few. This requires a holistic and visionary approach to steer Pakistan's economic ship out of troubled waters.

In 1947, Pakistan had 30 million people with per capita income of 100\$. Agriculture accounted for almost 50% of economic output with hardly any manufacturing, as all industries were located in India. Therefore, it was unable to feed 30 million people and was dependent on imports from the USA. From thereon, Pakistan has come a long way. Today with 170 million people, our per capita income in 2008 was 1000\$ which was ten times more. Pakistan is the third largest exporter of rice in the world and producing enough food grains to feed its people. 3 million tons of rice is exported every year by Pakistan which is surplus to our requirements. Pakistan is also one of the five major textile producing countries in the world. So if we measure in relation to where we were vis-à-vis structure of economy, agriculture has come down from 50% to 20%. Therefore, out of total national income, agriculture's contribution is just 20%, but instead of being deficient in food production, we are actually surplus and that is what productivity means i.e. by using the same land you produce more from the same inputs, that is how economic growth takes place. Agriculture is not only crops, within agriculture there has been a significant change. Livestock, dairy, mutton, beef, poultry and similar other

products account for 50% of agriculture output in Pakistan. Pakistan also produces third largest quantity of milk in the world. So within agriculture sector, there is a change i.e. major crops are only 36% of agriculture value added and 14% are minor crops, fisheries, orchards, fruits and vegetables. Thus, we are moving in a direction where the same land and same resources are being used more efficiently in order to produce more. As a contrast, agriculture is only 2.5% in the US having a population of 300 million, out of which they not only feed the entire population, but also export to the rest of the world. Therefore, it is important to understand that when it is said that agriculture is producing/contributing more, it is the productivity of agriculture rather than the share of agriculture in GDP. Manufacturing and industry now account for 25% of the income; when we recall there was not even a single industry worth its name at the time of partition. So if we look where we were and where we are, the justification for Pakistan in terms of betterment of economic conditions of Muslims in this part is very strong. But where we have failed is that we have not lived up to our potential. In 1969, Pakistan exports of manufactured goods were higher than the combined exports of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand. In 1960's Korea emulated Pakistan in its five years planning process. The tragedy is that even a country such as Vietnam which was completely devastated by the war has now overtaken Pakistan. Ten years ago, India which was way behind Pakistan (till 1990's) is now way ahead.

First off, a huge fiscal deficit is a major economic problem facing Pakistan. Fiscal balance is a major indicator of how well an economy is performing. In simple terms, fiscal deficit occurs when the revenue raised by the government in the domestic context is not enough to cater to the expenditure needs. Normally, a government raises revenue locally through taxation and gas infrastructure Cess to mention only a few. The government then uses the collected revenue to spend on the general public welfare as well as developmental projects. In Pakistan, however, there is a severe mismatch between the revenue raised and the expenditure incurred by the government. The situation is so grave that in the fiscal year 2019, the deficit was recorded at 8.9 percent of

the gross domestic product (GDP). This, in comparison to a fiscal deficit of 6.6 percent for the year 2018 is a sharp rise. Hence, fiscal deficit is indeed worrisome for the economic standing of Pakistan.

Savings-consumption gap is yet another problem that adds to the economic misery of Pakistan. This implies that a nation consumes a lot more than it saves. This gap does not bode well for the future of a nation. Out of every hundred rupees of the national income, Pakistanis consume 85 rupees and save only 15 rupees, which means that the amount of money which is available to invest for economic growth and advancement is too little. Because to grow by 6%, you need at least 24-25% investment rate - and if you want to rely on domestic savings, your saving rate should be 25%. India's saving rate was about the same, but last year they recorded 34% saving rates. China's saving rate is 50%, so this is the contrast as to why Pakistan is in serious difficulty. As a nation, this is a problem that needs to be addressed on a priority basis. Pakistan has to at least double on its savings rate otherwise the country will remain dependent on foreign sources.

Current account deficit occurs when the total inflows in a country fall short of the total outflows. Inflows are generally in the form of export revenue, remittances and investment. Outflows, on the other hand, take the form of import bills, debt re-payments and profit repatriation. A major component of current account deficit is trade deficit - a phenomenon whereby export revenues are less as compared to the import bill. Imports, generally speaking, are not bad for the economy. They provide consumers with a wide variety of products and also enhance the overall standard of living. Major imports of Pakistan are petroleum products, machinery, cars, mobile phones and certain food items. However, when imports increase beyond a certain threshold such that current account deficit balloons, the situation becomes a major cause for concern. According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Pakistan's trade deficit for the fiscal year 2018 was \$37.67 billion, an all-time high. Such high levels of trade deficit imply that there is going to be a continuous flow of wealth and resources from the country.

A low ease of doing business is another reason accounting for the shambolic state of Pakistan's economy. Ease of doing business is an index employed by World Bank which ranks countries on their ease of doing business from 1-190. A high ease of doing business shows that the regulatory framework is more conducive and supportive of starting and running business in a country. Pakistan's rank is 136 on the index. Even if investors are welcomed by the federal government, when it comes down to provincial and local governments, they are given a run around – the land is not available; the water is not available; the gas is not available; electricity is not available; road is not available. Lack of coordination among various government agencies, innumerable laws and regulations that are antiquated and outdated have proved to be serious impediments. Labour laws, inspections by multiple agencies, the delays in the court system, infringement of intellectual property rights and evasion of taxes by competing firms in the informal sector have rendered some of the well-established firms unprofitable, or the feasibility of starting new ventures questionable. Such environment repels potential investors and reduces the likelihood of the launching of new ventures in the country.

Moving on, high cost of doing business is another major problem that accentuates the economic plight of Pakistan. High cost of doing business is usually a signal for business ventures to either shift the business away from the country under question or to not invest in the first place. Extremely high corporate taxes reduce the profit margin of businesses. Even though these taxes have been rationalized in the recent past, the corporate tax rate of Pakistan is still one of the highest in South Asia. Then, failure on part of the government agencies to dole out tax rebates timely is another common problem. Delays in tax rebates and duty drawbacks are quite common. This implies that the investors do not get money, which they would have invested back in their business. Lastly, cross border trade is an extremely tedious process. Products have to wait for days and months before the requisite clearance is done. This results in fiscal slippages and cost over-runs. So, a high cost of doing business is also something that needs to be tackled head on.

In addition, a huge circular debt also poses a threat to the economic health of Pakistan. Energy and power sectors of Pakistan are a complex chain comprising of GENCOS (Generation Companies), TRANSCOS (Transmission Companies) and DISCOS (Distribution Companies). The government usually asks DISCOS to provide electricity to end consumers on subsidized rates. However, the failure of government to pay the subsidized amount to the DISCOS results in delays in payments to TRANSCOS and GENCOS as well. In this manner, the entire power supply chain gets affected and circular debt keeps piling up. This has wreaked havoc on the economy of Pakistan. According to a special report published by DAWN, circular debt of around 1.5 trillion rupees has crippled Pakistan's economy. In Pakistan, there are severe shortages of energy in the first place. Even when energy is provided, the tariffs are not properly regulated. This results in a debilitating circular debt, which is detrimental for the economic health of the country.

Low standard of living is also a symptom of the ailing economy of Pakistan. One of the most glaring weaknesses is that a country like Pakistan that should have had best indicators in literacy, infant mortality, fertility rates, in access to water supply, in primary enrolment ratios has social indicators which are more comparable to Africa rather than to the countries of similar per capita income. Even Tajikistan, which is a very poor country, has better literacy rate and primary enrolment ratios than Pakistan. What does it mean? It means that if Pakistan had a literacy rate of 100% instead of 55%, then in 2009-2010 the country's per capita income would have been 2000\$ rather than 1000\$. Instead of 30 million middle class in Pakistan, there would have been 60-70 million middle class people. Also, the country would have had poverty reduced to 15-20%.

The preceding section of the essay highlighted various economic problems that are haunting Pakistan. It is only pertinent then to highlight the steps that need to be taken in order to secure an economically prosperous future for the country. So, the next section of this essay will be an attempt to propose a future course of action required to address the current economic crisis that the country finds itself in.

A prudent first step in terms of addressing the economic woes of Pakistan is to bring about a change in the national psyche and mindset. People of Pakistan cannot afford to be too negative or cynical where the focus is to find everything wrong in this country. Unless there is a change the national mindset and unless everybody who is doing what he or she is supposed to do, carries out his or her task with sincerity and honesty, the country is not going to go anywhere. People should not expect any messiah to come and fix its problems. They have to do it themselves- individually and collectively. There are no short cuts available. Media is muddying the water by its sensational stories and inviting so called experts who contribute in projecting negative thinking and negative national psyche. Unless the people of Pakistan have a positive "can do" mentality, it will be difficult to progress. So, need of the hour is for all Pakistanis to change their mindset rather than blaming the government and the system in order to secure global economic survival.

Secondly, in the world of knowledge oriented economy, building up of human capital is a pre-requisite to secure a sound economic future. There is no substitute to building up human capital. Private sector, public sector, NGOs, local communities and philanthropists all need to participate in making sure that every child goes to school. Moreover, all stakeholders need to ensure that every high school graduate has some technical and vocational skill or goes for higher education. This can be done by building linkages between the industry and academia. Unless the country focuses on building up human capital, it is just going to be left behind because the world economy is fast becoming a knowledge based economy. It is not an economy where you memorize material or reproduce that in the exam and forget about it - that is no longer the case. One has to acquire the knowledge and use it in order to apply to problem solving. This is a new paradigm where human capital is as important as machinery and equipment. Pakistan lags behind other countries in the institutions, infrastructure and incentives for human capital formation. So, the country has no choice but to accelerate the pace of human development to play catch up with other players in the world in terms of economy.

In addition, Pakistan must make use of its youth bulge in the years to come. Currently, the youth bulge of Pakistan stands at around sixty four percent. Hence, Pakistan is one of the few countries which has a young labour force which can be harnessed for its own and global economy. Japan, Europe, USA have an ageing population where the ratio of old to young people is going to further increase in the near future. India and Pakistan are two countries where the ratio of younger people to the older ones is going to increase. If these young men and women are trained properly and women are also encouraged to participate in Pakistan's economy, they can become the labour force for the rest of the world. This will give a big boost to Pakistan's own economy. In 2001, worker remittances were less than a billion dollars; today the figure stands at almost 7-8 billion dollars. Now this can be multiplied by three or four times if Pakistan has an educated labour force going for overseas employment. Hence, utilizing Pakistan's youth bulge as an asset would be major step forward in terms of realizing economic prosperity.

Building export infrastructure is also extremely important in terms of addressing the economic woes of Pakistan. Export infrastructure is a must for the manufacturing sector to grow. This entails the provision of facilities such as refrigeration, packaging, warehousing and storing. Export infrastructure adds value to products and makes them worthy of being exported. For instance, Pakistan is the third largest milk producing nation in the world. Yet, it needs to import powdered milk. Similarly, Pakistan is home to high quality mangoes; but India exports almost double the mango pulp extract when compared to Pakistan. Also, the meat found in Pakistan is also of a high quality but cannot be exported due to lack of export infrastructure. So, the country needs to focus on building export infrastructure in order to make its products more competitive in the international arena and hence address the issue of current account deficit that currently plagues the country.

Moreover, improving the ease of doing business and lowering the cost of doing business would also go a long way in terms of addressing the economic plight of Pakistan. Several

steps are already being taken in this regard. For instance, under the purview of the "Naya Pakistan Housing Programme," Real Estate Regulatory Authority is being set up. This will act as a one stop shop to facilitate developers in terms of gaining construction permits. Similarly, visa relaxations along with reduction in the number of taxes that businesses have to pay are some other welcome steps. However, a lot still needs to be done. Timely tax rebates, duty drawbacks, cross border trade facilitation, reduction in corporate taxes and rationalized power tariffs are a must in order to provide an enabling environment to potential investors in the country.

Lastly, it is important for Pakistan to broaden its tax net. The Active Tax Payer List (ATPL) registered a decline of 9% in 2017. Moving on, only 1% of the population pays income tax. Moreover, the rich segment spends only 10% of its incomes on tax while the poorest spend 16% of their incomes on taxes; in contrast, Britain's top 1% contribute 26% of total income tax. So, there is an urgent need to broaden the tax base. Educating people about the importance and means to file taxes is a good starting point in this regard. Onus is on government officials and members of the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) to document the economy and to loop in the SME sector in the formal banking channel. This documentation of economy would go a long way in terms of increasing the tax net of Pakistan.

To conclude, it becomes clear that Pakistan is struggling on the economic front and that the country requires a complete reorientation of its economy. This needs to be done immediately or else the entire nation would be on the verge of collapse. So, all stakeholders need to demonstrate the resolve to address all economic issues of Pakistan. This might seem difficult but is certainly not impossible. Collaboration among all stakeholders and a visionary economic policy are the keys to success.

CHAPTER

18

Water Crisis in Pakistan

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

Even according to the most conservative estimates, Pakistan is on the verge of becoming a water scarce country. This has grave implications for the economic, social and political health of the country. The situation warrants immediate steps to ensure a water secure future for the country.

2) Factors Responsible For Water Crisis:

2.1) Rapidly increasing population

Case in point: Pakistan's population expected to reach 300 million by 2050 (World Bank)

2.2) Lazy approach to maintaining and repairing ageing, leaky water infrastructure

Case in point: water leakages amount to 46 Million Acre Feet (MAF)

2.3) Global warming also aggravating water woes of Pakistan

Case in point: glaciers such as Siachen, Baltoro and Biafo expected to melt by 2050 (National Geographic Documentary)

2.4) Faulty agricultural practices cause a lot of water wastage

Case in point: country's obsession with water intensive crops such as sugarcane

2.5) Inappropriate water pricing

2.6) Water disputes with its neighbours

Case in point: Indian designs of building a string of dams such as Baglihar and Kishanganga dams

Indian-Afghanistan collaboration to build dams on river Kabul

2.7) Delayed construction of dams

3) Implications of Water Crisis for Pakistan

3.1) Economic losses

Case in point: Pakistan expected to lose four percent of its GDP due to water crisis

- 3.2) Water crisis can be exploited by domestic and foreign actors to create trouble for national unity

Case in point: Punjab Sindh divide over water

- 3.3) Diseases from contaminated water

Case in point: More than a quarter of Pakistan's population, are at risk of consuming arsenic (UNICEF)

- 3.4) Can trigger an all-out war between Pakistan and India

4) **Way Forward: Tackling the Water Crisis Head On:**

- 4.1) Prioritizing construction of new dams

Case in point: Diamer Bhasha dam can store up to 6 MAF water

- 4.2) Repairing and improving the existing canal water infrastructure

Case in point: National Water Policy- a step in the right direction

- 4.3) Rationalizing water tariffs

- 4.4) Proactive diplomacy to counter the nefarious Indian agenda

- 4.5) Emulating the Singaporean Four Tap model and Australia's Water Management System

5) **Conclusion:**

There is an urgent need for Pakistan to take steps required to tackle the water crisis that is haunting Pakistan.

ESSAY

Water is among the most precious natural resources in the world. Without it there would be no life on earth. People need it for various uses—domestic, agricultural and industrial. Pakistan is blessed with the world's largest glacial resources. However, there have been persistent warnings by the institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Pakistan Council for Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) for the last few years about the water crisis in Pakistan. According to the IMF report, Pakistan is among the thirty six most water stressed countries in the world. Per capita water availability is 1017 cubic metres, which is quite close to the scarcity threshold of 1000 cubic metres. Groundwater tables are falling fast in several regions of the country. The seriousness of this danger was not well known within the public. But for now the symptoms of this crisis are clearly seen in terms of water shortage and contamination in many areas where people need to travel long distances to collect a bucket of water. Moreover, Indian leaders' threats to use water as a weapon against Pakistan alarmed the country. Some of the factors causing this crisis are its rising demand; Pakistan's water disputes with its neighbours; its over-reliance on agriculture; use of most water-intensive crops; inappropriate pricing; leaky water infrastructure and delay in construction of dams. This could potentially affect economy and society as a whole, and could lead to a nuclear war. Dealing with it is a crying need of the hour and doing so requires political will and national consensus.

The essay will begin by outlining the major factors responsible for the current water crisis that besets Pakistan. The next section of the essay will be an attempt to discuss some of the grave implications of water shortage. Finally, the last section of this essay will put forth a series of recommendations required for the country to avert an otherwise imminent water crisis.

Increasing demand as a result of rapidly growing population is an essential factor leading towards water scarcity. There is no denying the fact that water is a basic

necessity required by one and all. It caters to the cooking, drinking, washing, cleaning and industrial needs of people. Hence, life without water is unimaginable. However, rapidly increasing population has put great pressure on the water sources of Pakistan. The nation is home to around two hundred and eleven million people even according to the most conservative estimates. Moreover, Pakistan is projected to be among the top five most populous states in the coming years as per various UN reports. It is projected to have a population of about 300 million by the end of 2050. This is raising alarm bells, threatening the sustainability of water resources.

A lazy approach to maintaining and repairing ageing, leaky water infrastructure also results in leakage and hence wastes of a lot of water. Over time, water pipes and the associated water infrastructure tends to wear out. Hence, without regular maintenance, it is extremely difficult to ensure adequate water conservation. In Pakistan, losses of water are estimated at around 46 million acre feet (MAF) annually. Also CPEC, with its large-scale projects in the most dry regions of Pakistan is an adding to the water crisis. The loss in storage capacities of the existing water reservoirs is also contributing to the water scarcity. Tarbela dam, Mangla dam and Chashma reservoir have lost about 5 million acre-feet (MAF) due to heavy sedimentation carried by the rivers. Hence, failure to repair water infrastructure on a timely basis also shoulders some blame for the growing water predicament of Pakistan.

Global warming is also adding to the water woes of Pakistan. Glaciers are thought to be the major reserves of fresh water in the country. Pakistan is home to several prominent glaciers such as Siachen, Baltoro and Biafo. However, global warming causes glacial melting. On one hand, glacial melting results in the flooding of coastal regions. On the other hand, it also results in reduced fresh water availability. Glaciers are losing an estimated hundred centimetres thickness every year. One study revealed that by the year 2050, the country will no longer possess water reserves in the form of glaciers. Hence, climate change is a major contributing factor vis-a-vis water crisis in Pakistan.

Pakistan's faulty agricultural practices predicated on traditional modes of cropping and irrigation are another cause of the water crisis facing the country today. The state allocates ninety five percent of its water to produce just twenty to twenty five percent of its annual GDP output. Cotton and sugarcane are two of the most water-intensive crops to produce. The amount of water these crops use is staggering. Around 22,500 litres of water are required to produce one kilogram of cotton and around 1500 litres for one kilogram of sugarcane. Pakistan has encouraged the growth of these water-thirsty crops. Sugar cane is arguably the most controversial. Sugar is a delicacy and does not contribute to the food security of the country. Yet, the government has taken no steps to limit its growth in a bid to save water. The example of Rahim Yar Khan can be cited here. There is no canal system in Rahim Yar Khan; so, there is greater reliance on groundwater. In the last two decades, eight new sugar mills opened in the district. The water level dropped by around eighty feet and is on its way to hit the hundred feet mark. Hence, such faulty practices in agriculture are extremely worrisome with regards to the water situation in the country.

Pricing of water is another issue that has resulted in the crisis. Recently, the Planning Commission published a report, "Canal Water Pricing for Irrigation in Pakistan: Assessment, Issues, and Options," pointing out in simple terms that Pakistan is simply not paying the cost of the water it uses for agriculture. This implies that there is no incentive for water conservation. Moreover, the pricing for domestic and industrial use is also not up to the mark. This gives consumers little incentive to conserve water. The situation shows that the loopholes in pricing of water are also adding to the crisis.

The water crisis in Pakistan is also a result of water disputes with its neighbours. Indian actions have been a source of worry. India occasionally violates existing water co-operative regimes and unilaterally diverts water, creating tension and mistrust. Indus Water Treaty is a nearly six decade's old accord that governs how India and Pakistan manage the vast Indus River Basin's rivers and tributaries. It was signed in 1960 after nine years of negotiations between India and Pakistan with the help of the World Bank.

Seen as one of the most successful international treaties, it has survived frequent tensions, including conflict, and has provided a framework for irrigation and hydropower development for around six decades. However, in last few years, it has now come under severe strain. India has dishonoured this accord from time to time in past as well. Recently, in the wake of various crises between these two countries, Indian leaders have threatened to use water as a weapon against Pakistan. Modi's statement, "Blood and water cannot flow together," are worth mentioning here. For the last few years, India has been constructing dams such as Baglihar and Kishanganga on the rivers which were meant for Pakistan according to the accord. Moreover, India is also sponsoring similar projects in Afghanistan. Such constructions would alter the natural flow of the rivers and hence create water insecurity for Pakistan. This water terrorism by India could result in a major crisis in Pakistan.

Another area of concern is the Kabul River. The Kabul River supplies more than one-fourth of the annual flow of water in Afghanistan, and also feeds Pakistani cities in KPK. In 2018, the Afghan government showed its intention of building \$236 million Shahtoot Dam on the Kabul River. The project is a part of India-backed ambitious plans of building 12 dams on the Kabul River basin. If the dam is built, it can hold 146 million cubic meters of water, a source of worry for the already water-stressed Pakistan. This ambitious development is fuelling fears downstream in Pakistan. It is believed that the new dam will alter the flow of the Kabul River and reduce the water flow into Pakistan that could severely limit the country's future access to water. There have been reports that there could be a 16 to 17 percent drop in water flow after the completion of the Shahtoot Dam and other planned dams. The construction of these projects could possibly affect water availability in Pakistan.

Delay in construction of dams is another reason of water crisis. This delay is creating a threat to the amount of water available for domestic consumption and for agricultural and industrial use. Pakistan's total dam capacity amounts to thirty days' worth the average use. Surprisingly, the figure is thousand days for Egypt and two hundred and

twenty days for India. Construction of Kalabagh dam has been delayed. The reasons for its delay among others- are financial constraints, lack of resources, infrastructure and, above all, the political will among the leaders. Also, there is the bitter controversy among the four provinces. Had this dam been constructed, it could have stored around six Million Acre-Feet (MAF) of water. Delay in the construction of Kalabagh and many other dams is adding to water crisis in Pakistan.

The preceding section of this essay discussed in detail the reasons accounting for the water crisis in Pakistan. It is only natural to now discuss the possible consequences of such a situation. So, the next few paragraphs will be dedicated to discussing the potential repercussions of the water scarcity in the country.

Water scarcity is affecting the economy of Pakistan. The reason is simple. Water is essential for an agrarian economy like Pakistan. Agriculture contributes a major part to Pakistan's economy. Hence loss of agricultural output and decline in exports can affect Pakistan's economy. This is extremely worrisome, especially at a time when the country is passing through one of the worst economic crises it has seen to date. According to the World Bank, water crisis costs Pakistan nearly four percent of its gross domestic product (GDP). This shows that water crisis would militate against the economic health of the country.

The immediate repercussions of water crisis are the hydro-politics in domestic context. Rising tensions among provinces have already been visible. Regarding the distribution of water, there already has been an increasing mistrust between Punjab and Sindh. Many politicians exploit this for their own vested interests. There is no telemetry system to measure the actual flow of water in to different regions of the country. Hence, there is no way to gauge whether or not the grievances of people from different provinces are based on merit. This is a threat to national unity in the long-run. So, water crisis can result in tensions among the provinces, which can be exploited by domestic and foreign actors to create trouble for national unity.

Diseases resulting from the contaminated water are causing deaths. Over fifty three thousand children die every year from waterborne diseases according to UNICEF. More than two-thirds of Pakistan's households drink contaminated water, according to UNICEF. Research in Science Advances journal finds that, based on about twelve hundred groundwater samples, up to sixty million people, more than a quarter of the population, are at risk of consuming arsenic. Around ninety one percent of Karachi's water, according to a Pakistani judicial commission report, contains sewage and industrial waste. This results in various diseases, which can cause deaths. Therefore, contaminated water is resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people living in Pakistan.

Water crisis as a result of India's policies can trigger an all-out war between the two neighbours. There already have been many issues between India and Pakistan. The borders are already intense given the recent upheaval in Kashmir, as a result of Indian actions there. So many analysts say there is a possibility of war over water. Any war will not be limited to the region. It could likely impact the entire Asian continent. So water conflict between the two neighbours can plunge the entire region to war, which can easily reach to nuclear level and hence jeopardize international peace and security.

For addressing this crisis, there is a dire need to develop political consensus and national strategies, with all political parties on the same page. The government of Pakistan must prioritize construction of new dams. This is essential to ensuring storage to meet the increasing demand. For instance, the construction of Kalabagh dam as per many reports will create a reservoir with useable storage of around 6 MAF. The construction of Diamer-Bhasha Dam would be able to store more than 6 MAF of water. The argument usually put forth by the government for not being able to build such dams is the lack of funds. However, a good starting point would be to build small multi-purpose dams. Such water storage facilities are essential to maintain the cultivation of crops to support agriculture.

Repairing and improvement of existing canal system is necessary as forty percent of water that runs through canals is lost because of seepage of water. The National Water Policy 2018 is a step in right direction. According to the policy, the share of resources from federal and provincial development programmes have to be dedicated to the water infrastructure. This implies accelerating work on the dams. Also the stated goal of the policy is to reduce the losses by a third. It requires plugging the leaks through lining the water courses. This policy needs a strong implementing framework. This will surely save a lot of water and will therefore be a blessing in terms of addressing the water woes of the country.

There is a need to reform water pricing. This is the only way to ensure the farmers use this resource efficiently. Along with rationalizing water tariffs, the government also needs to adopt efficient irrigation techniques such as the use of sprinklers instead of flood irrigation. Focus also needs to be shifted away from obsession with water intensive crops. These steps will change the usage patterns in agriculture and help in the conservation of water.

Internal policies must be complemented by regional diplomatic efforts as well. On external front, Pakistani government needs to initiate water negotiations with all neighbours. Pakistan needs regular, ongoing discussions on infrastructural development, surface water flows and diversions. In case of any violation by India or Afghanistan, Pakistan must diplomatically drag India to international courts. It must use all available legal and diplomatic channels to prevent its interest.

Pakistan can learn a thing or two from Singapore and Australia- countries who have successfully tackled a potential water crisis using visionary policy making. Singapore's four tap model is an apt example in this regard. Singapore struck a deal with Malaysia for importing water for the time it would take the former to upgrade its water infrastructure. Secondly, the country embarked upon a journey to build rainwater catchments, which could be used to store rain water. The stored rain water could then

be pumped through dry areas using an underground network of pipes. Thirdly, the country installed several desalinated plants to make sea water fit for consumption. Lastly, they built a string of small multi-purpose dams in order to cater to the short term water needs of the country. Australia's water management system is another impressive model for water conservation. The Australian government set legally enforceable limits to the amount of ground water could be pumped in a given time. They also developed an extensive water trading regime, which was pillared around the idea of incentivizing water conservation. Pakistan can learn a thing or two from these countries and could potentially implementation a tweaked version of the aforementioned strategies to address the country's water predicament.

To conclude, it can safely be stated that Pakistan, despite being blessed with world's largest glaciers and largest irrigation systems, is facing water crisis owing to various factors: increasing demand, lack of political will to address the issue, leakage, and dispute with neighbours. This scarcity is affecting Pakistan's economy and society, and the sharing and utilisation of water across sectors and among provinces has been threatening national unity. It is because water is the lifeline of Pakistan. It is the key to economic growth. Therefore, it is essential to develop the public and political consensus to defeat the nefarious aims of the enemies. Provinces should reform the system of agricultural taxation. Yes, it's hard to develop political consensus and national strategies. There is, however, a ray of hope that the crisis is still preventable if the current government acts upon the above-mentioned suggestions. These steps will certainly ensure water security for the future generations.

CHAPTER

19

CPEC: Prospects And Challenges

OUTLINE

1) Introduction:

There is no denying the fact that the CPEC comes at a very opportune moment for Pakistan- a time when Pakistan is seen struggling on almost all fronts. If the challenges of CPEC are tackled head on through Sino-Pak collaboration, the project could indeed be a game changer not only for Pakistan and China but also for the entire region at large.

2) A Brief Overview of CPEC:

3) Prospects of CPEC for Pakistan:

3.1) Pivotal for addressing the energy crisis of Pakistan

Case in point: power projects under CPEC likely to add 10,000 MW to the national grid.

3.2) Likely to stimulate infrastructural development

Case in point: Gwadar-Kashgar motorway and re-alignment of the Karakoram Highway

3.3) Will give impetus to agricultural modernization in Pakistan

Case in point: Pakistan can enhance production of wheat from 25 million tonnes of wheat to 50 million tonnes of wheat (SDPI)

3.4) Will modernize Pakistan's communication network

Case in point: Fibre Optic cable from Khunjerab to Karachi planned

3.5) An opportunity for Pakistan to diversify its foreign policy

4) Prospects for China:

4.1) China will finally be able to escape the Malacca dilemma

Case in point: using CPEC, Chinese oil imports' distance would reduce by 11000 km.

ESSAY

In the recent past, Pakistan has unfortunately witnessed a host of problems. The country has had to bear the major brunt of terrorism. Energy shortages have also added to the economic woes of Pakistan. Moreover, the strategic partnership between India and the United States of America has also transformed the South Asian political landscape into one marked by insecurity and hostility. Adding insult to injury is the Afghan predicament and the failure of the Central Asian Republics to gain access to the warm waters. In the backdrop of such circumstances, CPEC has given a ray of hope not only for Pakistan to re-assert itself on the international arena but for the region as well to reap the benefits of the increased interconnectivity likely to be brought about by CPEC. Hence, there is no denying the fact that CPEC comes at a very opportune moment for Pakistan- a time when Pakistan is seen struggling on almost all fronts. If the challenges of CPEC are tackled head on through effective Sino-Pak collaboration, the project could indeed be a game changer not only for Pakistan and China but also for the entire region at large.

To begin with, it is pertinent here to shed some light on what the CPEC project is. Broadly speaking, CPEC is a 3218 kilometres network of roads, railways and pipelines linking Kashgar in the North-West Chinese province of Xinjiang to the Gwadar port in Pakistan. It is a flagship project of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) - a venture that seeks to link China to the rest of the world through new roads, railways, ports and gas pipelines. According to the details that have surfaced till now, the CPEC is likely to be completed by 2030. From the construction point of view, the CPEC has been divided into short term, middle term and long term projects. At the start, the worth of projects under the umbrella of CPEC stood around 46 billion US dollars; however, its scope has broadened ever since and the present worth of CPEC projects is a staggering 62 billion US dollars. The project is integral to the bigger Chinese plan for reviving the traditional Silk Road and establishing the new Silk Road Economic Belt.

- 4.2) Will help China tackle poverty and unrest in its North-Western region
Case in point: Around two thirds of Chinese poor population lives in its Western flank
- 4.3) A major boost to Chinese bid for global hegemony
Case in point: CPEC- a flagship project of BRI

5) Prospects for the Region:

- Likely to bring economic revolution in the region
- Can help achieve peace and stability in the Middle Eastern region as well
- Benefits for the Central Asian Republics (CARS) and Russia

Challenges to CPEC:

- 6.1) Indian and US opposition to CPEC

- 6.2) Threat of terrorism

Challenges posed by CPEC:

- 7.1) Polarization in the society of Pakistan due to the route controversy

- 7.2) Concern of critics: CPEC is a debt trap for Pakistan

Critical Analysis- Decoding the Best Strategy to go about Completing CPEC

Conclusion:

Now that the essay has presented a brief overview of CPEC, it is only pertinent to discuss the prospects of the project. So, the next section of the essay will be an attempt to elucidate the potential benefits of CPEC for Pakistan, China and the region.

CPEC promises to address the acute energy crisis that Pakistan has been coming to terms with over the last couple of years. A continuous supply of energy is crucial for the economic health of a nation to sustain. Given the current energy crisis that besets Pakistan, energy availability would revive existing industries such as textiles, fertilizers and sugar to full production and hence add an estimated two percent to the GDP growth of Pakistan. Under the ambit of CPEC, around 10,000 MW of energy are expected to be added to the national grid of Pakistan. Zonergy 900 MW solar power plant is the first one to be added to the national grid of Pakistan. Karot hydropower project under CPEC is also set to begin power generation by 2021. Similarly, Port Qasim coal fired power plant and Thar coal project are in progress. Khola power project, Neelum Jhelum project, Dasu power plant and nuclear projects at the site of Chashma are also some other energy projects under construction. So, it is clear to state that CPEC is a major tool to address the energy shortfall that Pakistan has witnessed in the recent past.

Moreover, CPEC is expected to stimulate infrastructural development in Pakistan as well. Infrastructural development holds the key to economic prosperity as well as a high standard of living for any country. This is what Pakistan aspires to achieve in the near future. CPEC promises to deliver on this front. The project adds on to the already existing road link between Pakistan's Gilgit Baltistan and the Xinjiang region of China. Gwadar Kashgar motorway is to be constructed with three different routes, connecting ultimately near Gilgit Baltistan. With active consultation of Chinese authorities, Pakistan has prepared a plan to construct three corridors: the western alignment, the central alignment and the eastern alignment. The Eastern route has been picked for development in the first phase. Progress has also been anticipated in transport infrastructure. This includes the re-alignment project of the Karakoram Highway (KKH) at Atta bad Barrier Lake. In addition, Gwadar airport is also expected to be built on

around 4000 acres thereby making it a huge airport by Pakistani standards. The list of infrastructural projects goes on. So, CPEC is indeed expected to be a blessing for Pakistan with regards to infrastructural development.

In addition, CPEC is likely to pave the way for agricultural modernization in Pakistan. Agriculture is an important sector for the economy of Pakistan. At the time of its inception, agriculture accounted for more than fifty percent of Pakistan's GDP. Over time, some positive developments did occur in the field of agriculture but the country failed to keep pace with the new technologies and techniques in the field of agriculture. It is for this reason that the per hectare yield for various crops is far greater in India than in Pakistan. Keeping these factors in mind, CPEC sounds music to ears. It holds a huge potential in terms of boosting Pakistan's agriculture. Ministry of National Food Security and Research, in its 2018 Food Security Policy, envisioned the establishment of nine Agricultural Zones along the CPEC. The plan also envisions the introduction of modernization in agriculture such as the introduction of high yielding varieties, hybrid seeds, and use of sprinklers and advanced methods of raising crops. According to the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, CPEC holds the potential to enhance production of wheat from 25 million tonnes to 50 million tonnes. Moreover, it will also help in efficient irrigation of crops and would therefore help in conserving water. Hence, CPEC will likely help Pakistan in terms of modernizing agriculture in Pakistan and thus bringing it at par with other countries in the region.

CPEC is also likely to modernize communications network in Pakistan. Even in the twenty first century, several regions of Pakistan are devoid of high speed internet. This is a shame. Once again, CPEC promises to bring about a revolution in the communications sector in Pakistan by helping the country realize a high speed internet throughout the country- one based on international standards. Pakistan and China have agreed to lay the infrastructure for fibre optic network by laying a 9600 km cable from Khunjerab-Gwadar-Karachi along the CPEC routes. The project is expected to cost around 280 million US dollars. China is expected to provide around eighty five percent

finances for the project with the remaining fifteen percent expected to come from the government of Pakistan. The project, upon completion, will transform the country into a hub of high speed internet. Some under-developed regions in Pakistan such as Gilgit-Baltistan will also finally have access to high speed internet. CPEC, therefore, is likely going to give the much needed boost to Pakistan's communications infrastructure.

CPEC also provides Pakistan the much needed impetus to diversify its foreign policy. Ever since the inception of the war on terror, Pakistan has remained heavily dependent on the United States of America. Such narrow outlook of foreign policy of any country does not bode well for its future. This was witnessed when, during the Obama regime, relations between the two countries became sour. Also, the growing Indian-US bonhomie has disturbed the delicate security situation of South Asia. This prompted Pakistan to finally explore new options in order to diversify its foreign policy. Fortunately for the country, CPEC has come to the rescue. Firstly, CPEC is going to further strengthen the Sino-Pak relations. Moreover, the project can also be leveraged by Pakistan to cultivate friendly relations with Russia by offering the latter, access to the warm waters. Eventually, Pakistan could also provide the landlocked Central Asian Republics (CARS) access to warm waters. In doing so, Pakistan would finally emerge as a major player in the Asian region- a dream that the country has unfortunately failed to achieve thus far. CPEC indeed comes at an opportune time for Pakistan to diversify its foreign policy.

China is also likely to reap dividends owing to CPEC. Firstly, upon successful completion of CPEC, China would be able to free itself from what is known as the "Malacca Dilemma." Currently, around eighty percent of Chinese oil imports have to pass through the Malacca Strait, which is a stretch of water located between the Indian and Pacific oceans. This means that the Chinese imports are at the mercy of the US and Indian navy fleets in the region. This implies that in case of an escalation between the two camps, Chinese oil supplies might be blocked. Moreover, the route is prone to piracy as well. Imports through the Strait of Malacca take around two to three months

to reach China after covering a distance of around 16000 km. This is where CPEC comes in handy for China. Using the CPEC route, China will be able to bypass the Malacca Strait and hence become liberated from the Malacca dilemma and the threat of piracy. In addition, the route that Chinese imports take would also see a significant reduction. Imports through CPEC would mean that the distance now required for the oil imports to reach China through CPEC would come down from 16000 km to 5000 km. So, breaking the shackles of the Malacca dilemma is the biggest potential advantage of CPEC to China.

CPEC is also going to help China fight poverty and unrest in its North-Western region. There is no denying the fact that China has emerged as a major economic power over the last couple of decades. The country has lifted millions of people out of poverty. However, one thing worth observing is the fact that around two-thirds of the poor Chinese people live in the Western flank of China. It is for this reason that there has been unrest in this part of China. Major Chinese industries are located in the Eastern part of China. The situation vindicates the age old dictum that uneven development is a recipe for disaster. Fortunately for China, the country has begun realizing this and CPEC is also an attempt to bring the Western flank of China at par with the rest of the country. CPEC would provide employment to people inhabiting the restive regions like Xinjiang and Kashgar. Moreover, people living in these areas will also witness the development of various industries along with infrastructure development. So, China hopes to address the issue of unrest and separatism in its Western part through CPEC.

CPEC- a flagship project of the Belt and Road Initiative- is crucial to the Chinese ambitions to realize global hegemony. The dawn of twenty first century has seen a tussle between the established power (the United States of America) and an emerging power (China) known as a Thucydides trap. It is for this reason that China has been termed as a revisionist power- an emerging power that seeks to alter the world order. Through its Belt and Road initiative, China seeks to connect Asia, Africa, Middle East and Europe. This means investments in the form of roads, railways and gas pipelines. In an era when

populism is on the rise and the US is increasingly assuming an isolationist approach, China sees this as an opportunity to fill in the shoes of America. So, CPEC- being the flagship project of BRI- is viewed in China as a tool to boost its global hegemony ambitions.

CPEC also promises a plethora of prospects for the region. Firstly, it will bring about an economic revolution in the region. According to an eminent economist Dr Shahid Hassan Siddiqi said that CPEC would create thousands of job opportunities in the entire region. He further added that Gwadar port will help in bringing about the much needed boost for businesses that are spread throughout the region. Moreover, it will also help in bringing about peace in Afghanistan as well as the Middle Eastern countries. China, owing to CPEC is strategically aligned with Pakistan and as a result will aid Pakistan in bringing about peace in the war torn country. Talking about the Middle Eastern region, the US policy of supporting dictators has failed miserably. On the other hand, Chinese policy of non-interference and emphasis on peaceful resolution of disputes has enhanced Chinese credibility in the region. In the past, Pakistan acted as a bridge between China and the Muslim world from the platform of OIC. This bridge is expected to further expand through CPEC, which will provide connectivity to Central Asian Republics and Middle Eastern countries. Hence, even the region will benefit from CPEC a lot.

The preceding section of the essay clearly elucidated how CPEC is a major blessing for Pakistan, China and several other regional players. However, there are quite a few challenges- some posed to CPEC and some posed by CPEC. So, the next section of this essay will be dedicated to discussing these challenges.

The biggest challenge to the successful implementation of CPEC is the opposition put forward by the United States of America and India. US opposition to the project fits in the larger scheme of the country's efforts to resist the Chinese rise to power. There have been many instances that clearly show that US is bent on sabotaging CPEC.

"In a world of many roads and many belts, it does not make sense for any country to talk about a single belt, single road." (James Mattis)

Moreover, US' covert support to India in terms of creating hurdles in the way of the successful implementation of CPEC is yet another strategy designed around opposing CPEC.

India is also obsessed with undermining the credibility of the Chinese Belt and Road initiative in general and CPEC in particular. Indian efforts to fan separatist tendencies in Balochistan and Karachi are aimed at creating disunity in Pakistan as means to create resistance for CPEC in the domestic context of Pakistan. Moving on, India has recently beefed up its support to Iran in terms of developing Chabahar port as a counter to the Gwadar port being developed under CPEC. This, once again, depicts Indian desperation to go to any extent to jeopardize CPEC. Several statements given by Indian politicians and policy makers revolve around the theme that the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative is simply an attempt to undermine the strategic interests of India in the region as well as in the world at large. So, Indian opposition to CPEC is an open secret.

Moving on, there are quite a few challenges posed by CPEC itself to Pakistan. The first problem in this regard is the potential polarization of the society. The route controversy surrounding CPEC is a major challenge that merits mention. As per the final CPEC designs, three routes are to be constructed: the western route, central route and the eastern route. Focus right now is on the completion of the eastern route. This has heightened insecurities in the people living in the western flank of Pakistan. People from Balochistan and FATA have voiced their concerns regarding very little or no benefits of CPEC for them in case the eastern route is not given preference. So, the threat of polarization within Pakistan is a major threat that needs to be dealt with immediately.

Another major concern regarding CPEC is the argument put forward by CPEC sceptics. According to them, CPEC is a debt trap for Pakistan. They believe that Pakistan will not be able to pay off the debt that the country is taking for the completion of CPEC

projects. This would mean that the country would have to take more loans in order to pay off the ones taken for CPEC. So, this might trap the country in the vicious debt cycle. People have become more insecure in the wake of the recent economic crisis that the country is facing. Some critics of CPEC further aggravate the situation by stipulating that CPEC is a tool to colonize Pakistan. Hence, such concerns are also undermining the credibility of CPEC.

Keeping in view the problems that might surface due to CPEC, it is worthwhile to critically analyse what needs to be done. Firstly, onus is on the politicians and diplomats of Pakistan to secure deals such that they are in the best interests of Pakistan. This can be done through visionary policy making and pro-active diplomacy. Then, there needs to be a national consensus within Pakistan regarding the fact that CPEC will be a game changer for all regions of Pakistan. This can be done by educating people about the potential benefits of CPEC for the entire country. Media needs to play a vibrant role in terms of making documentaries regarding CPEC and the Indo-US designs of sabotaging the project. Lastly, the stakeholders involved in designing and implementing CPEC need to ensure greater transparency with regards to details of the individual projects. This will take care of the trust deficit that currently exists between the government and general population. So, the challenges are not something that cannot be taken care of.

To conclude, it becomes clear that CPEC is indeed a blessing for Pakistan, China and several other countries in the region as well provided certain problems are taken care of. However, if these problems are left un-attended, it will be difficult for the project to see completion. Hence, there is a dire need to tackle all challenges that currently confront the China Pakistan Corridor. Addressing people's insecurities vis-a-vis CPEC, ensuring greater transparency regarding CPEC projects and tackling the nefarious agenda of India and US in terms of tarnishing the image of CPEC are the keys to success.

CHAPTER

20

Populism Poses A Threat To The Liberal World Order

OUTLINE

- 1) **Introduction:**
Populism- especially in contemporary times- is an anti-elitist, anti-pluralist and an exclusive form of political ideology. Since these values are antithetical to the liberal values, populism poses a major threat to the liberal world order.
- 2) **Framing the Issue- Defining Key Variables:**
 - 2.1) Populism: an anti-elitist, anti-pluralist and exclusive form of political ideology (Jan Werner Muller)
 - 2.2) Different Strands of the Liberal World Order
 - Democratic culture
 - Capitalism
 - Free Trade
 - Pluralism
 - Collectivism
- 3) **Rise of Populism across the Globe:**
 - Trump's surge to popularity
 - Brexit
 - India under Modi
 - Proliferation of populist parties throughout Europe
- 4) **How Populism Poses a Threat to the Liberal World Order:**
 - 4.1) Threatens the notion of multilateralism
Case in point: Trump's withdrawal from the Iran Nuclear Deal
 - 4.2) Threatens to undo the project of free trade
Case in point: US' pull-out from the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP)
 - 4.3) Gives impetus to anti-globalization voices
Case in point: Trump's ban on people from seven Muslim majority states

ESSAY

Cold war, which dominated world politics for several years, ended with the dismemberment of USSR. It was touted as a major victory of capitalism, which was spearheaded by the United States of America. The communist ideology, according to various scholars, stood defeated with the Soviet defeat. One such scholar was Francis Fukuyama. In his "End of History" thesis, Fukuyama stipulated that the end of cold war was the end of mankind's ideological evolution. According to him, the event marked the triumph of the liberal capitalist ideology as the best form of ideology. By virtue of being the best ideology, Fukuyama contended, it would be replicated by almost all nations of the world. Some years later, his notion stands challenged. Rise of populism in America and the proliferation of populist parties throughout Europe is quite pronounced. This trend implies that the very architects of the liberal world order are threatening to undo the values that the ideology stood for. Populism especially in contemporary times- is an anti-elitist, anti-pluralist and an exclusive form of political ideology. Since these values are antithetical to the liberal values, populism poses a major threat to the liberal world order.

The essay will start off by decoding the phrase populism. It will then make an attempt to outline what values are espoused by the liberal world order. Once this is done, the focus of this essay will then shift to elucidating with the aid of examples and illustrations- how populism poses a threat to the liberal world order. Eventually, certain reasons accounting for the rise of populism throughout the west will be discussed. The discussion will then be folded up by proposing a set of remedies required to protect the liberal world order by taming populist tendencies.

Explaining populism is by no means an easy task, throughout the history, the term has been used in different contexts. Simply defined, populism is an ideology that is predicated on appeal to the masses as means to come to power. Populist leaders offer simple answers to complex problems. They usually blame free trade and mass migration for the growing inequality in the world. Modern populists often take this approach as

4.4) Militates against the spirit of pluralism

Case in point: Plight of minorities in India

4.5) Populism may become the tyranny of majority

Case in point: Viktor Orban's "discriminatory legalism"

4.6) May kick-start various separatist movements

5) **Recipe to Mitigate Populism and Hence Preserve the Liberal World Order:**

5.1) Democratizing politics and the global institutions

5.2) Addressing the weaknesses of the exploitative capitalist system

5.3) Harnessing the true potential of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative to preserve an interconnected world.

6) Conclusion:

Populism poses a grave threat to liberalism. Hence, it is a crying need of the hour for the world to get together and tame populist tendencies in order to preserve the liberal world order.

they tap in to the backlash against immigration in a globalized economy that many voters feel has left them behind. According to some authors, there are three core requirements for populists to be considered populists. Firstly, populists make appeal to the people championing their cause against the despised elite. They also use prices and manufacturing to justify support for them. Eventually, they use inflammatory language to shock the establishment and prove that their credentials are the same as those of the people. However, the definition put forth by "Jan Werner Muller" in his book what is Populism perfectly depicts the form populism has taken place in the contemporary era.

"Populism is an anti-elitist, anti-plural and exclusive form of political ideology predicated on appeal to the masses." (Jan Werner Muller)

Liberal world order is an all-encompassing term. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the world became uni-polar. Hence, the west- primarily spearheaded by the United States of America- put forth a set of rules that would govern the political, economic and social affairs of the world. This world order came to be known as the liberal world order. Some key tenets on which the world order is based upon are: democratic culture; capitalism; free trade; pluralism; multilateralism and collectivism. In a nutshell, globalization and democracy are at the heart of the liberal world order.

Before discussing how populism undermines the liberal world order, it is worthwhile to establish that populism is fast taking roots in the west. President Trump's surprising surge to popularity is a major example of the rise of populism in the country that championed liberal values. Moving on, Brexit is also a populist phenomenon. Masses in Britain were uneasy with the idea of 'outsiders' taking 'their' jobs in the UK. Moreover, the elderly segment of Britain has become more culturally conscious in the wake of unabated globalization. Hence, in the vote, around fifty two percent people voted for Britain to break away from the European Union. Narendra Modi is another populist leader who has become notorious the world over for his populist agenda, which spells disaster for minorities. Finally, populist parties have proliferated throughout Europe: Marine Le Pen's France National Front and Germany's Alternative for Germany are two

such parties that show how populism is gaining ground in countries that once epitomized liberal values.

Firstly, populism threatens the notion of multilateralism, which is an element that is at the heart of the liberal world order. Simply put, multilateralism refers to cooperation among countries for achieving common goals. In a globalized world, great importance is attached to cooperation as means to address issues of global concern. The UN charter calls upon states to resort to diplomatic resolution of disputes and multilateralism is one such mean. However, it is a pity that populist leaders exhibit individualistic tendencies as opposed to collectivism. In an effort to put their respective countries first, they turn a blind eye to the general welfare of the global society. An example that merits mention here is that of Trump's withdrawal from the Iran Nuclear Deal. The deal was brokered between the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council plus Germany on one side and Iran on the other hand. The deal, commonly known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, was hailed as the triumph of multilateral diplomacy. According to the deal, Iran would roll back its nuclear programme in return for a lifting up of sanctions imposed on the country. Iran held its end of the bargain. However, Trump unilaterally scrambled the deal by refusing to certify the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action. This is one major example that shows how populism- in contemporary times- is undermining the liberal world order.

Moving on, populist leaders are also threatening to adopt increasingly adopt economic protectionist policies. Economic liberalism is a theory in international relations that advocates free trade. Several authors have posited that free trade is, by and large beneficial for the world. According to the World Bank, free trade has helped enhance global output manifold. It allows countries that have a competitive advantage in the production of certain goods to specialize in the production of those goods. This improves the efficiency of production and hence increases the overall level of production. As a result, free trade has helped lift millions of people out of poverty. Yet, it is highly unfortunate that populist leaders have exhibited stern opposition to free trade. These leaders are of the view that free trade is inherently bad for the domestic industry.

An example that fits within the frame is the US' pull out from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). The TPP could have potentially been the world's largest trade deal with twelve countries accounting for around forty percent of the global gross domestic product (GDP). However, Trump- a populist leader- said that this deal would enable foreign companies to flood the US markets with foreign goods and hence destroy the domestic industry. This triggered the US to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership. In a separate move, Trump has also renegotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as USMCA. These examples are enough for one to believe that the rise of populism is indeed a grave threat to the liberal international order.

Populist leaders and the masses who support such leaders are often seen speaking up against globalization. Globalization simply refers to the free movement of people, capital, goods and technology. In the post UN era, globalization paced up and was hailed as a hallmark of the liberal capitalist ideology. However, populism has given impetus to anti-globalization voices. Populists blame un-abated globalization for their woes. It is for this reason that as soon as Trump rose to power, he imposed a travel ban on seven Muslim majority states. In a separate unrelated incident, he has been pushing for the fencing of the US-Mexico border in what he claims 'will prevent illegal migrants from crossing over in to the US.' This will have grave repercussions for families the members of which live on both sides of the border. In areas like California and San Francisco, people have also started criticizing the flow of technology as a major reason behind the increasing unemployment being caused. So, populism stands at daggers drawn to globalization, which is at the heart of the liberal world order.

Populist ideology also militates against the spirit of pluralism. Pluralism refers to a phenomenon whereby people belonging to different religions, races, ethnicities and backgrounds all peacefully co-exist in the society. The western sponsored liberal world order claimed pluralism as one of its central pillars. Some countries such as Canada under Justin Trudeau and New Zealand under Jacinda Ardern still epitomize pluralistic values. However, the recent populist tide, which has taken western countries in its fold, depicts an altogether different story. Even countries like India are eating away at the

spirit of pluralism. Narendra Modi is a populist leader. Ever since he has come to power, plight of minorities living in India has become quite pronounced. Beef ban hurts the religious sensitivities of Muslims. Sikhs and Christians living in 'the world's largest democracy' are also not immune from the perils of populism. The treatment being meted out to Kashmiri Muslims is the height of barbaric attitude. Scrambling of the articles 35-A and 370 of the Indian constitution and the recent curfew imposed in Kashmir are simple efforts by Modi to amass support from the populist masses. Hence, pluralism- a key tenet of the liberal world order- is also going down the drain quite fast.

Populism gives birth to the concept of "the tyranny of majority." There is no denying the fact that democracy thrives on the notion of majority is authority. However, the majority in a particular area uses its influence to realize its ambitions. This indirectly affects the minorities living in these areas. This drives populist leaders to give little or no weight to the problems of the minorities. Their problems have no presence in the national discourse. This is amply manifest in the following words of Hungary's leader Viktor Orban: "For my friends (the populists), everything and for the rest, the law." Similarly, Brexit vote was a close contest with forty eight percent people aspiring for Britain to remain part of the European Union. However, it was the decision of the other fifty two percent that counted. The fact that Brexit was hailed by some leaders as 'victory of the real people' shows that populism can quite often become the tyranny of majority. Once again, the stance that populism is antithetical to the liberal values stands vindicated.

Also, populism might kick start separatist waves across the world. As has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs, populism does not bode well for the future of minorities. This is supported by the plight of minorities living under populist leaders. Catalanian bid for independence and the Kurdish struggle for a separate homeland are already becoming quite pronounced. The United Nations has no doubt safeguarded people's right to self-determination. However, if these communities exercise this right as means to avoid torture, this might have a domino effect. A wave of separatism across the world will be detrimental for inclusiveness and pluralism. Hence, once again, the idea that populism is undermining the liberal world order stands true.

As a first step towards mitigating populism and hence preserving the liberal world order, there is a dire need to democratize global institutions. Currently, these institutes such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are mere tools to serve the interests of the powerful. So, tailoring these institutions and making them more fair, inclusive and transparent would go a long way in terms of addressing the grievances of the masses that got driven towards populism in the first place.

Addressing the weaknesses of the exploitative capitalist system should be a priority in order to save the liberal world project. A major factor that is behind the rise of populism is people's grievances vis-a-vis growing economic inequalities. According to these people, globalization and the liberal values did not deliver as per their promise of improving the standard of living for everyone. They blame free trade and mass migration for the growing in equality. Authors like Arundhati Roy have also blamed capitalism as the driver of economic inequalities in the society. So, it is about time for the states to ensure that they do not collaborate with the capitalist elites in their untamed economic ambitions and the exploitation of workers as means to boost their profits.

Harnessing the true potential of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative is instrumental in preserving the liberal world order. In a world where populism is spreading its tentacles on the US and other western countries, the world is slowly moving towards what the economist calls "slowbalization". So, the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative is a ray of hope under such circumstances. It is a trillion dollar project aimed at connecting different regions of the world and providing job opportunities to people in different regions of the world. However, China must take care of the fact that this time around, the project does not simply serve the interests of the powerful segments of the society.

In conclusion, it may be inferred that the rise of populism is a major challenge to the liberal international order. Populist leaders are slowly but gradually moving the world towards de-globalization. This is a grave predicament since it is likely to erode the liberal values such as free trade, pluralism, multilateralism and collectivism. The situation warrants immediate attention in order to preserve the liberal world order. While this might be difficult, it is certainly achievable through concerted efforts of different nations. Democratizing global institutions and addressing the issue of economic inequality the world over are the keys to success.

CHAPTER

21

Title: The Global Community Has Fled Rather Than Led The Issue Of Global Warming

OUTLINE

Introduction:

Life on Earth is in decline due to global warming. Despite this realization, the global community has failed to agree and act upon a collective action plan against this grave threat. The dogmatic belief in an economic system centred around the idea of continuous growth and profit, rising populism and weakening international institutions has left the international community thinking about global warming in silos or not thinking about it at all.

2) **What is global warming and how is the international community important in tackling it?**

3) **Why has the global community fled and not led the issue of global warming?**

3.1) Distrust among the countries of the global north and south has turned the issue of global warming into a debate of historic and social justice.

Case in point: Failure of the Copenhagen climate conference.

3.2) Exceptionalism exhibited by global leaders.

Case in point: America's walk out of the Paris Climate Accord

3.3) Global warming is not a consideration in domestic politics.

Case in point: Donald Trump's election campaign.

3.4) Rising populism has weakened international institutions.

Case in point: Britain's exit from the European Union.

3.5) Nature of existing economic system is competitive rather than collaborative.

Case in point: New Cold war between China and the US.

3.6) Urgency of the threat is not being felt by the global community.

Case in point: Denialist movements

3.7) Influential corporate lobbies

Case in point: Fossil fuel giant Exxon Mobil's anti climate change research investments.

- 3.8) National interests take precedence over global concerns.

Case in point: Global energy security concerns.

- 3.9) Free rider problem; one country enjoys inaction at the expense of others.

Case in point: Australia's mining industry.

- 4) **How can the global community successfully lead the issue of global warming?**

4.1) Collaborative action on the Paris Climate Agreement.

4.2) Transfer of green technology and scientific knowledge to the developing world.

4.3) Climate change linked development assistance.

4.4) Poverty reduction and equitable distribution of global resources.

- 5) **Conclusion:**

The international community must abandon the pursuit of selfish interests and act in collaboration to tackle global warming successfully. Global leaders should proactively take lead and improve among nations of the world a better understanding of a low emissions world.

ESSAY

Life on Earth is in decline due to global warming. Despite this realization, the global community has failed to agree and act upon a collective action plan against this grave threat. The dogmatic belief in an economic system centred around the idea of continuous growth and profit, rising populism and weakening international institutions has left the international community thinking about global warming in silos or not thinking about it at all.

After having taken the stance that the global community has failed to collectively lead the issue of global warming, this essay will begin by explaining what global warming is and how it is a threat to humanity. Going forward it will shed light upon the importance of the role of international community in tackling global warming and explore the socio-economic and political dynamics that have left the international community divided over the issue. The essay will conclude with the reiteration of why global warming has not had the required response from the global community and present a way forward for the countries to come together and deal with the issue.

Global warming is the increase in global temperatures due to excessive emissions of greenhouse gases such as carbon dioxide and methane. Anthropogenic activities that lead to greenhouse emissions leave the heat of the sun trapped inside the Earth's atmosphere which results in warming of the planet. Global warming causes glaciers to melt resulting in a rise in sea levels which in turn results in a loss of coastal land. It also causes warming of the oceans beyond a normal level and a destruction of marine ecosystem. Warming of the land also leads to unfavourable living conditions for many animals leading them to extinction. Warming of the planet has also led to the changing weather patterns which have disturbed cropping cycles around the world. Agriculture is also affected by extreme and unpredictable weather phenomena such as rain and storms. Global warming poses grave food security and extreme weather related disaster risks. Global warming has also caused drying up of water bodies such as lakes and rivers

resulting in the loss of habitat for many species and desertification of land leading to the migration of entire human settlements. Global warming, thus, poses multiple threats such as food security, migration crisis, depleting natural habitats and more frequent natural disasters.

It is believed that global temperatures have risen by 0.85 degrees since pre-industrial time. This has happened due to the doubling of carbon dioxide concentration in the Earth's atmosphere due to industrialization. The United Nations inter-governmental panel on Climate Change has urged the world to contain this temperature rise to 1.5 degrees and not surpass the 2 degrees mark. Beyond a rise of 2 degrees, life on Earth would be a risk beyond imagination. As global warming impacts each and every one of us on this planet, it cannot be dealt with in isolation. Tackling global warming requires collective action nothing short of which can help us save this planet. The global community, however, seems to be indifferent to this pressing need due to an array of factors discussed in subsequent sections of this essay.

One of the major issues why the global community is divided over the issue of global warming was revealed at the Copenhagen Climate Conference. The debate there steered around the fact that how the global North has progressed at the expense of the countries of global South during the industrialization period. Major emissions which have caused this temperature rise were caused by what are now the biggest economies of the world. Sceptics of the conference believed that this was yet another attempt by the West to limit progress of poorer developing nations. This distrust among the two camps of nations led to a debate on historic and social justice. It was claimed by developing economies that it was now time for global powers to do more and give back to the planet what they had reaped out of it. Global powers, on the other hand, were also not willing to give significant commitments in terms of limiting emissions or financing climate smart developments in the developing world. The conference is recognized as a miserable failure and exposed the fault lines of the global community in collaborating to limit global temperatures.

Another realization that surfaced during the Copenhagen conference was the exceptionalism exhibited by the global super powers. This realization was seen to manifest in the Paris Climate Accord when President Donald Trump walked out of the agreement. Other economic giants like China and Australia were wary of the commitments being asked for in the Paris agreement. President Donald Trump categorically mentioned that the Paris agreement would hurt America at the benefit of other nations. The Paris agreement was a moment in the history where majority of the world's nations had voluntarily come together to show their commitment towards global warming. Trump's withdrawal was an attempt to sabotage decades of efforts for self-interests. It reinforced among nations of the developing world the belief that the West would continue their business as usual and the rest would be pushed to deal with issues of global warming. When global leaders back off from such commitments instead of leading by example, collective inaction is inevitable.

Inquiry into why Trump decided to exit from the Paris deal reveals a broader phenomenon to which global community has resorted to inaction over rising global temperatures. Domestic politics does not require leaders to pay attention to issues related to global warming. Most people are indifferent to the threat and value politicians in terms of their ability to fix more immediate problems. In a world where people are demanding for more jobs, better wages and health care; discussions over global warming take a back seat. The very nature of the cyclical democratic political system requires politicians to focus on short term gains for success. Trump did not have to worry about climate change during his election campaign as his term as president did not require any serious action over an issue whose impact would probably be felt much later. What benefitted him more were promises of more jobs and revival of the American industry.

This isolationist and inward looking approach to politics is rooted in rising populism. Populism is a major reason why countries fail to collaborate over global issues. Populism feeds on the idea that globalization has failed people of the developed world.

Populist leaders appeal to people by providing simple answers to complex issues. They claim to end inequalities caused by globalization and bring back to people jobs that were taken away from them due to immigrants. Britain's exit from European Union is a classic example in this regard. Not only does populism makes countries look inward it also weakens international collaborative institutions like the EU. Britain's exit from the EU undermines collective efforts to fight global warming. Attention is diverted towards other issues like the future of the EU economic system and whether or not Britain would keep its commitments as part of the EU. Britain's exit from the EU undermines the organizations bargaining powers on terms of dictating other member countries to far off limit greenhouse emissions.

Britain's exit from the EU and the isolationist stance of many other leading economies is due to the very nature of our economic system. Free market economics has turned into a strictly competitive rather than a collaborative system.

China and the US are the two world's greatest rival economies. They are also the major emitters of greenhouse gases around the world. Their rivalry over the global economic hegemony has led them to disregard the threat of global warming and intensify activities that further contribute to it.

China and the US are the largest coal burning countries of the world. Free market economics believes in continuous growth. The pursuit of unlimited growth in a finite world leads to detrimental consequences for the planet.

This is more so because of another important reason. Global warming as a threat does not pose urgency of action. Due to the vast number of actors involved and the impact of global warming on each differently, the whole debate about the urgency of action is diffused. This is reinforced by arguments of denialist movements across the world. Denialists term global warming as a hoax and claim that it is only a natural course in the evolution of the Earth. Their claims coupled with the inability to foresee immediate

global disaster and the multiplicity of other issues that the countries have to deal with leads to global inaction against warming of the planet.

Denialists are also supported by influential lobby corporate lobby of fossil fuel giant such as Exxon Mobil. These corporations have a huge influence on politics as they are a critical source of funding for political campaigns. These organizations are so heavily entrenched in the economic system that they wield the power to topple governments and hence do not let their interests be damaged due to a seemingly far off threat. Corporations such as Exxon Mobil and Shell are involved in funding their own anti climate change research which divides the world into two camps trying to prove who is right while the main issue remains unaddressed.

In an undecided world like this national interests take precedence over global concerns. Energy security for China is a bigger threat than global warming. China relentlessly explores options to enhance its energy capacity most of which involve burning fossil fuels. Similarly no leading economy is willing to slow down their growth at the expense of action against global warming. National interests are often conflicting and instead of uniting the global community, divide it into a system of continuously changing alliances.

Countries are also concerned about the problem of free riding. Countries that are willing to take action are discouraged to see that others are benefitting at their expense. As the impact of action or inaction against global warming is evenly distributed, many countries do not feel obliged to take action. Australia is a strong proponent of inaction due to the problem of free riding. It has categorically stated in defense of its mining industry that action against global warming is futile if limited to only a few countries.

It is evident now that the global community has failed to collaborate over global warming due to a wide range of economic and socio-political reasons. Nonetheless, we must find ways through which the global community can steer the issue of global warming in the right direction.

One way to do this is the implementation of Paris Agreement universally. All nations must reduce emissions as committed in the Paris agreement earnestly. Global leaders who have refused to do so must be convinced to take serious action. The agreement till now is voluntary; making emission limitations binding may also help in this regard.

The developed world must show commitment to the cause by investing in climate smart technology and research and transfer it to the developing world. This is the only remedy to concerns of the global south that western countries have progressed at their expense. Investments that help developing countries shift to green technology will help build trust and enhance opportunities of collaboration.

Similarly development assistance should be tied to climate smart policies and projects. Developed countries should provide technical expertise and funds to help develop poor countries in a climate friendly manner.

Smart poverty reduction investments must be introduced to alleviate the poorest of people out of poverty. Global warming and poverty reinforce each other, hence, it is critical to deal with poverty to reunite against global warming. According to World Values Survey, climate smart values such as recycling and efficient use of water are directly related to affluence.

Hence, it is possible for a divided international community to unite over the issue of global warming. The international community must abandon the pursuit of selfish interests and act in collaboration to tackle global warming successfully. Global leaders must pro-actively take lead and improve among nations of the world a better understanding of a low emissions world.